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TWO MAJOR OBJECTIONS TO GANJA PROHIBITION

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One aspect of the hemp drugs problem referred to the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission for investigation and expression of opinion was "the desirability of prohibiting the growth of the (hemp) plant and the sale of ganja and allied drugs." This was discussed in great detail in paragraphs 553 to 585 of its report, the verdict being that this is impracticable on account of certain very serious considerations.

The most formidable of the difficulties on which it was alleged the experiment is almost bound to fail consists in the ganja procurable from spontaneous growth and that derived from clandestine cultivation.

As regards the part which might be played by the former in defeating prohibition, the Hemp Drugs Commission in paragraph 567 of its report stated that

"Though ganja of good quality requires some cultivation and tending, the evidence before the Commission tends to establish the fact that ganja of an inferior kind can be manufactured from the spontaneous or casual growth which is found near human habitations and amidst cultivation of other crops in many parts of India."

So far as ganja from illicit cultivation of the hemp plant is concerned, the Commission expressed its views in the following terms:—

"The hemp plant grown readily in India,.....and it would be easy for any one addicted to the use of ganja to grow a plant or two

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in the enclosure of his own house and in the nooks and corners which would be safe from observation and from the risk of detection."

It has to be admitted that prohibition of ganja and by implication, of bhang is impossible if facts bear out the correctness of the opinions expressed above.

Area of Spontaneous Growth

After making enquiries as regards the spontaneous growth of the hemp plant all over India, the Hemp Drugs Commission came to the conclusion that "wild growth is prevalent throughout the Himalayas from Kashmir to the extreme east of Assam," at altitudes up to 10,000 feet above the sea-level. Continuing it said in paragraph 84 of its report:

"It extends down the southern slopes of the mountains, and into the Punjab and Gangetic plains to a limited distance. It is found in all the hill tracts of Assam and in the two great valleys of the province. It spreads along the mountain ranges on the frontiers of East Bengal, Assam, and Upper Burma from Independent Tippera, through Lushailand, Manipur, and the country of the Kachins, to the frontiers of China. The southern boundary of the area there indicated runs approximately from Peshawar through Gujranwala, Amritsar, Umballa, Karnal, Muzaffarnagar, Moradabad, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, and Sitapur to the Gogra river at Bahramghat, and then follows the course of that river and the Ganges to Sahebganj on the north-east of the Sonthal country. From this point the line is more doubtful, but it should probably cross the drainage of the Ganges and Brahmaputra to Netrakona in the Mymensingh district, and then turn south to Comilla, thence east to the boundary of the Chin country, and thence take a northerly sweep to Mogoung in Upper Burma, and pass on to the Chinese frontier."

Propagation of Wild Hemp Plant

Speaking broadly, the hemp plant appears to propagate itself in the area just mentioned. But it is also possible that seeds carried down from the mountains are mainly responsible for the growth on the lower slopes of the Himalayas, and in the Terai. These are derived from the wild growth of the higher Himalayas and from the cultivation, generally for fibre, carried on there. It is also believed that the mountain ranges south and east of the Brahmaputra play the same part for the wild growth in the area immediately below

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them. In the valleys of Assam as well as in the densely inhabited Sub-Himalayan tract, the wild growth seems to be largely kept up through fresh importation of seed from the ganja and bhang consumed by the people.

Conditions, Favourable and Unfavourable, to Spontaneous Growth

From such knowledge is available in regard to the conditions under which the hemp plant grows best, it is inferable that the seeds germinate properly only if the nursery is kept thoroughly dry and the rainfall is not too high and that throughout its growth, the hemp plant prefers "a light, permeable, well-drained soil."

These two essential conditions are found in the Himalayas with the additional advantage of a moderate temperature. In the event of excessive rainfall which happens occasionally, it is carried off with great quickness so that the seed or seedling has every chance of surviving.

In the submontane tracts, the germination generally takes place late in November or early in December after the disappearance of the excessive moisture, due to monsoon, from the surface soil leaving it light and friable. Growth is encouraged by occasional light cold weather rainfall. Protected by the mountain and forest air, the hemp plant survives to ripen its seeds and it is mainly thus that spontaneous growth is maintained. Nor does the so-called wild plant meet with any unfavourable conditions unless it goes to places far away from the shelter of the mountains in which case it is killed by the fierce dry heat of the plains in the months of March to May or even June.

The fact that spontaneous growth is confined to certain well-defined areas proves that elsewhere conditions are unfavourable to it which may be either of a permanent or of a temporary character. Among the former may be mentioned heavy or impervious soils, short seasons with severe alterations of dryness and moisture, extreme drought or excessive and continuous rain. An unusually hot or an unusually wet season in a locality where spontaneous growth normally takes place may be regarded as coming under the second category.

Ganja from Untended Spontaneous Growth

In practically all areas of spontaneous growth, people appear to be familiar with the difference between the male and the female hemp plant, the latter only yielding ganja. This is not difficult as, even

in the wild state, the loose and irregularly branched flower-cluster of the male can be distinguished from the comparatively stiff and apparently blossomless spike of the female hemp plant. In some areas, the former is generally known as the bhang and the latter as the ganja plant.

The poorest among ganja addicts living in areas of spontaneous growth who cannot afford the licit drug are sometimes driven to the smoking of bhang collected from wild plants. It is, however, more common for them to utilise their knowledge of the narcotic properties of the female plant by collecting and drying its flowering tops. Instead of destroying all the male plants as in the production of licit ganja which might draw suspicion on them if only female plants are found in large patches of wild ganja, they pick out only the most vigorous among the female plants which, naturally enough, may be expected to secrete larger quantities of the narcotic principle than the average degenerated specimens growing spontaneously.

An old and competent executive officer with extensive experience of excise administration in Bengal was probably referring to this type of the female hemp plant when he said,

"The flower of this kind of bhang is whitish ; it grows luxuriantly, and the plants are of a larger size than the ordinary wild ganja plants... The flowers and the leaves agglutinate naturally, and look like *Sivajata* (cluster of hair of the god Siva, from which it derives its name). Its intoxicating properties are less than the Rajshahie ganja. The flowers are collected and smoked just like ganja. It grows along with other hemp plants rather scantily."

One explanation for the greater vitality of these plants as proved by their luxuriant growth may be that they come from fresh seeds of regularly cultivated hemp plants which have accidentally reached the areas of spontaneous growth through users of licit hemp drugs. A second one, frequently heard, is that they have somehow received ample supplies of plant foods on account of their proximity to human beings. Still another explanation is that these are a deviation from the normal hemp plant.

The Contrary View

A majority of the witnesses who appeared before the Hemp Drugs Commission were, however, emphatically of the opinion that ganja cannot be obtained from wild hemp plants. Below are given extracts from evidence to this effect which, it will be noticed, are

taken from competent people belonging to different parts of India where spontaneous growth is found.

Mr. K. G. Gupta, I.C.S., who, but for his colour, would have finished his official career as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and who had for years been in charge of the administration of excise in that Presidency, stated :—

No ganja or charas is made from the wild (hemp) plants as the narcotic element which is essential to the production of either drug is entirely absent or very imperfectly developed in the uncultivated plant."

Mr. W. H. Grimley, I.C.S., Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, said,

"The plant in its wild state does not produce ganja. Bhang can be prepared from the wild plant, wherever grown, but I am doubtful about ganja, and that ganja consists of the resinous coated flowering-tops of the cultivated unfertilised female plant. The plant in its wild state does not produce ganja."

The Extra-Assistant Commissioner of Sylhet, Assam, expressed the opinion that,

"In some places (in Assam) a species of plants grows spontaneously, which is called Bhang, and which never produces ganja."

Mr. Hugh Fraser, I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector, Bijnour of the old North-Western Provinces, said,

"Bhang can be prepared from the hemp plant wherever grown and by any person ; ganja and charas cannot."

Sirdar Bahadur Bhagwan Singh, Zemindar, Amballa District, Punjab, stated,

"Ganja is not raised from the wild hemp, for it is another class of product."

The uniformity of opinion in this matter is due to a basic fact well-known to all who have any knowledge about the cultivation of the hemp plant for the manufacture of ganja and mentioned on page 11 of the sixth chapter of his report on the cultivatian of ganja by Dr. David Prain, Superintendent, Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, near Calcutta, from which the following lines are taken :—

"Ganja is obtained from cultivated plants only, and of the female sex exclusively, the males being not only not used, but not permitted to grow in the vicinity of the crops in order that the formation of seeds may be as far as possible prevented."

In this connection, reference may also be made to the views expressed by Bengal witness No. 64, Mr. G. C. Dass, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector who, having been stationed in the ganjaproducing area of the provinces, had acquired first hand knowledge of the methods of cultivation and manufacture of this drug. He said,

"The presence of a single male plant is sufficient to destroy the whole crop of a field. Ganja experts would be necessary to root out the male plants before one can hope to successfully raise the crop of ganja."

In view of what has been stated above and the correctness of which has never been challenged from any quarter, it is only reasonable to conclude that untended and uncared for wild female hemp plants cannot produce ganja.

It, however, cannot be denied that something which goes under the name of ganja can be obtained from uncared for wild female plants, a matter referred to by the Hemp Drugs Commission on page 59 of its report where it said that

"The hill ganja of Assam, and the wild ganja that seems to be occasionally found and used throughout Eastern Bengal and the Sub-Himalayan region and even in Kashmir, must be the female flower spike which has often been quite innocent of any tending."

It should, however, be clearly realied that this so-called ganja possesses such insignificant powers of intoxication that, practically speaking, it has no attractions for the ordinary addict who would rather give up indulgence in the narcotic than smoke this unsatisfying rubbish.

Ganja from Surreptitiously Tended Spontaneous Growth

While the more timid among the poorer sections of rural and semi-rural ganja addicts depend on so-called wild ganja obtained generally from female hemp plants which are left uninterfered with in any way, some among them who regard it as rather poor and unsatisfying stuff and who are unable to summon up sufficient courage to undertake the surreptitious cultivation and manufacture of their favourite drug, adopt various devices to encourage the plentiful secretion of the narcotic principle by them. The most obvious and the least dangerous of these is the removal by stealth of all male plants which can be identified as such from tracts where wild hemp

plants are found which, of course, presupposes the possession of such knowledge by them.

The Assistant to the Director of Land Records and Agricutlure, Bengal, was referring to this when, after making enquiries in regard to the spontaneous growth in Bhagalpur and Purnea formerly included in the Bengal Presidency but today forming part of Bihar and which, even today, supply bhang to north-eastern and eastern India, he observed that while, for the manufacture of bhang, most of the spontaneously growing hemp plants, male and female, are uprooted a little before flowering when the leaves are supposed to contain the maximum amount of the narcotic principle, "a few selected plants, mostly females, are not uncommonly left in the ground." Continuing, he said,

"These acquire a nice bushy appearance not unlike that of the ganja-bearing plant. All this made me suspect that the people knew a great deal more about the bhang (*i.e.*, the male) plant (and its adverse influence in the production of ganja) than they were willing to avow."

It has been maintained that knowledge about the advantage of isolating the female hemp plants must have been handed down from the time when the plant was allowed to be cultivated for the home production of ganja.

Another device not easily traceable to these adopting it for the production of ganja from spontaneously growing hemp plants is the one mentioned by the Registrar of Calcutta, Bengal witness No. 98. From enquiries made from fakirs and religious mendicants, he learnt that they can be made to produce ganja—

"by lightly rolling the flowering spikes of the growing (female) plants between the hands, thereby causing the component parts of the spike to stick together, and preventing the access of the pollen (thus stopping their foundation)."

The ultimate result of this manipulation was described as follows:

"This treatment, repeated several times, converts the spikes into what is commonly called *jata*, which gives the matted appearance to the article."

Proceeding further towards north-western India, we find Mr. T. Stoker, I.C.S., Excise Commissioner of the old North-Western Provinces, saying that while the poorest addicts generally smoke the flowering tops of both male and female wild hemp plants, the more

sophisticated and crafty among them twist the stems of the female plants to prevent flowering thus encouraging the secretion of the narcotic resin.

The ganja produced under these conditions is somewhat better than that obtainable from untended-female plants mainly because they contain slightly larger quantities of the resin. Nonetheless, it is mixed up with so much of inert matter in the shape of dry leaves that addicts do not regard it as superior in anything like a marked degree to the less riskily obtainable variety from uncared for female plants.

Extermination of Spontaneous Growth in High Altitudes

It has been stated previously that the conditions most favourable to the cultivation of the hemp plant consist in germination of the seeds and growth of the plants in a well-drained, light, friable and suitably manured soil and moderate temperature.

All these except a well-manured soil, are ordinarily found in those higher parts of the Himalayas where we have spontaneous growth, the seeds for which are derived from self-sown plants and from those cultivated for fibre. Here and there, they also come from the ganja and bhang consumed by the addicts inhabiting them.

The banning of hemp plant cultivation for the production of drugs, will have the effect of cutting off supplies of vigorous strains of seeds so that those for spontaneous growth will have to come from the other two sources mentioned just now.

It is a well-known fact that cultivation for hemp fibre is found only at considerable elevations where the population is small. The secretion of the narcotic principle by hemp plants grown here is greatly hindered as most of their vitality goes to the production of good quality fibre. From this point of view, the fibre-yielding hemp plant met with in these high altitudes may, in a sense, be said to be different from the narcotic-yielding variety specially cultivated for the production of ganja and bhang.

To prevent all chances of misunderstanding it should, however, be stated that if the fibre-yielding plant is brought down to the plains and subjected to the same methods of cultivation as its narcotic-yielding kindred, it secretes the narcotic principle in just the same way as the ganja-yielding hemp plant when transferred to the higher regions of the Himalayas turns into a fibre-yielding one. These changes, however, do not take place immediately.

From the point of view of the matter with which we are concerned here, the seeds of self-sown plants generally found in these inaccessible regions as well as those derived from fibre-yielding plants suffer from the disadvantage that the plants grown from them are deficient in their power of secreting the narcotic principle.

It has been held by competent authorities that, with the end of the supply of seeds from cultivated strains now imported through the ganja and bhang consumed by the addicts, the plants grown from seeds coming from the other two sources will gradually lose much of their present limited power to secrete the narcotic principle which, from our point of view, would have the same effect as their extermination.

At the same time, it is only fair to add that this can be looked for only so long as the plants are confined to their present habitat. But we shall know how to deal with the problem if any attempt is made to transfer them to places where the soil and climate favour the secretion of the narcotic principle.

Extirpation of Wild Hemp Plants in Lower Altitudes

Coming to other parts of our motherland where spontaneous growth is common, it is correct to state that almost all those factors which favour it are present in admittedly less than the required quantums. For instance, in the sub-montane tracts and especially in the plains, spontaneously growing hemp plants in addition to their not getting the minimum benefit of a suitable soil, temperature, etc., are occasionally exposed to serious fluctuations of weather conditions and vicissitudes such as floods, etc. The combined effect of all these factors should have been to extirpate wild growth altogether.

This has not happened because of fresh importation of seeds of good cultivated strains derived from licit ganja and bhang consumed by the people and also by their aerial dissemination from the higher altitudes of the Himalayas where conditions favourable to spontaneous growth are at their best.

One important thing we have to remember is that, as pointed elsewhere, it is practically certain that the hemp plant came to India *via* Kashmir from its original home in Central Asia and that it gradually spread through regularly operated cultivation to areas where conditions favourable to its growth were present. In other words, the seeds of the so-called wild ganja were originally derived from the cultivated hemp plant. It follows therefore that, from this point of

view, the spontaneous growth is an escape, often an old escape, from cultivation and that, in the absence of that care which is lavished on the hemp plant cultivated for the production of ganja, it tends to degenerate rapidly. The only check on this is the importation of fresh and vigorous seeds coming from carefully tended good strains.

The part played by seeds coming from properly conducted cultivation in maintaining spontaneous growth was referred to by Brigade-Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel J. King M.B., Directror of Botanical Survey of India, in his memorandum, dated the 28th October,, 1893, submitted to the Hemp Drugs Commission where it was observed that

" The plant familiarly known as Indian hemp (Cannabis sativa, L.) is really wild in no part of British India . . . Plants of it may be found growing without cultivation near villages and gardens, where hemp is at present, or has in former times been, cultivated."

The opinion expressed by this expert was supported by many other witnesses, the evidence of two only among whom is referred to below.

Mr. J.J.S., Driberg, I.C.S., Commissioner of Excise, Assam, regarded as an area of spontaneous growth, said,

" I think there is no such thing as wild ganja. It does not grow of itself like other weeds."

Mr. G. A. Gait, I.C.S., Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Assam, stated,

"I have never found the spontaneous growth of hemp in the jungles, only in places formerly cultivated or still under cultivation. The jungle grass appears to choke it even when it grows."

In view of the weight of the expert evidence placed before it, the Hemp Drugs Commission was compelled to accept the above view, which was expressed in the following terms in paragraph 665 of its report,

" Wild hemp in the strict sense is not found in tracts removed from human habitations, past or present."

The areas in which spontaneous growth is found must be owned by either private individuals or by the State and as they are not far from inhabited places being in a majority of cases either close to them or in their midst, it would be easy to pass legislation rendering the owners where there are no tenants and occupiers where they

have been rented out, responsible that they shall not be found on their land. So far as plants growing on land owned by the State are concerned, the task of extermination can be left to its own agency quite safely.

Taking all the above facts into consideration, there does not seem much doubt that the extirpation of spontaneous growth, tended or untended, is only a matter of time and will depend on the vigilance and energy of the Excise staff and the volume of public support behind it. And there is nothing to show that, at the proper time, there will be any lack of these in our motherland.

Once the cultivation of the hemp plant under license for the production of ganja and bhang is stopped and their consumption ended, the constant supply of fresh seeds of cultivated strains through which spontaneous growth is kept up in the sub-montane regions and plains, will come to an end and, with it, the gradual disappearance of the wild plant as well as of the so-called ganja produced from both tended and untended wild plants.

When indulgence in hemp drugs was banned in Burma, a campaign for the extirpation of spontaneous growth, quite common in that country was initiated. It was so eminently successful that Dr. C. U. Aitchison, C.S., C.S.I., L.L.D., Chief Commissioner of British Burma, referred to it in the twelfth paragraph of his Memorandum to the India Government. This document, it should be added, was penned about eight years after the adoption of measures for the extermination of the wild growth. He said,

"One fact is worth a bushel of argument. We have succeeded in almost stamping out ganja, although the plant from which it is made grows wild in Burma."

That which Burma under foreign rule did, Free India can also do, it may be with greater speed and efficiency.

Surreptitious Cultivation of the Hemp Plant

From information made available to the Hemp Drugs Commission by both officials and non-officials, it was inferred that in those days there was "a certain amount of rearing of scattered plants...of course carried on secretly" in which connection it was stated that the detection of this illegal practice was very difficult "in places where the wild or spontaneous growth flourishes." It was found that though this clandestine cultivation either from ganja seeds or by

taking care of spontaneously growing hemp plants was common, it was never conducted on anything like an extensive scale.

For instance, from the memorandum of Mr. K. G. Gupta, I.C.S., it appeared that 86 arrests for committing this particular type of excise offence were made in 25 districts of Bengal in 1892-93.

Another highly placed Officer (Witness No. 43) stated,

"I prosecuted and also tried some cases of nourishing and promoting the growth of hemp plants. There was ample evidence of nourishment, such as soil properly prepared, watering, manuring, and otherwise taking care of, but in no case was there any evidence of cultivation. I, however, suspected that it was cultivated in a few cases. In Gaya I found plants grown in a field and being taken care of just as other crops. Generally the ganja-smokers grew it in places hidden from the public view. Inside house compounds a few only are grown. The largest (sic) I saw was a field in Gaya, may be 20 or 25."

Further inquiries showed that this surreptitious rearing of plants was most prevalent in the Bhagalpur, Patna and Rajshahi divisions and that it was also practised on a small scale in the Jessore, Midnapur and Cuttack districts. It is noteworthy that this distribution of illicit cultivation agreed pretty closely with the quantum of wild growth in all these areas.

While it is true enough that many cases of this clandestine malpractice in these places remained undetected being passed off as self-propagating hemp plants, and that, in other cases, they were cultivated in such small numbers and with such secrecy that they failed to excite any suspicion among the members of the excise staff. We should also remember that, in those far off days, Bengal included not only the undivided province but also respectably large tracts of present day Bihar, Orissa and Assam—clear proof of the comparative rarity of this type of breach of law.

After having considered the case of a region regarded as the centre for the manufacture of the largest quantity of a superior quality of ganja where surreptitious cultivation might be expected to be common, we shall turn to the Central Provinces the home of what is known as Khandwa ganja the area under cultivation in which was next to that of Bengal. Here too, one would expect the clandestine rearing of hemp plants to be prevalent. As a matter of fact, the testimony of witnesses convinced the Hemp Drugs Commission that, in its language :—

"The desultory and illicit cultivation, if carried on at all, is confined to gardens and backyards, and is never found in open fields. The authorities believe that it has been practically suppressed and the Commission have heard so little of its existence that they must accept that view."

As regards the extent to which this form of violation of law was common in those days, we find Mr. Naylor, District Superintendent of Police, Central Provinces, stating,

"About six or eight cases are annually reported of the ganja or hemp plant being grown in *baris*..... I think the illicit cultivation has now almost ceased."

Mr. T. Stoker, I.C.S., of the old North-Western Provinces who conducted especial enquiries regarding the production and manufacture of ganja in that province and the results of which he gave in a concise form in the memorandum submitted to the Commission held that

"The cultivation of hemp for the production of (illicit) ganja is not carried on openly. At the same time it would be incorrect to say that ganja is nowhere (clandestinely) grown or manufactured. Careful enquiry has elicited reports from several districts that a small amount of ganja is surreptitiously made."

As regards the class of men who defied the law in this particular way, it was found that most of the secret cultivators were fakirs who, too poor to afford licit ganja, adopted this method for satisfying their needs.

Evidence of a similar type in regard to the small extent of surreptitious cultivation was also offered by witnesses belonging to other parts of India and is not quoted here as it merely repeats what has appeared above.

The Hemp Drugs Commission summarised its views on this particular aspect of the problem in paragraph 92 of its report in the following words,

"All the evidence of the cultivation of the wild plant and of unlicensed (*i.e.*, illicit and illegal) cultivation generally refers more or less distinctly to the rearing of a few plants near houses, or in enclosures, or in the midst of crops, and not to operations of a more extensive kind."

As regards the quality of the ganja obtained from surreptitious cultivation of the hemp plant, we have the evidence of an experienced executive officer quoted in paragraph 229 of the report who said,

"I have seen (illicitly grown) ganja plants detected in Bhagalpur and Jangipur. From their twigs ganja as good in appearance as in Naogaon (the particular sub-division in Bengal where ganja is cultivated under Government supervision) can be prepared, but it is alleged that the flavour is not so good nor the stuff so potent as that grown in Naogaon."

Can Surreptitious Cultivation Be Stopped?

One of the means suggested by the Hemp Drugs Commission to tighten up the administrative machinery for control and restriction with a view to suppressing excessive use and restricting within reasonable limits the consumption of ganja and charas, was prohibition of cultivation of the hemp plant all over British India except under license rnd its centralisation.

This raised two questions, one that of putting an end, as far as practicable, to spontaneous growth, a matter dealt with previously and the other of preventing clandestine cultivation. So far as the latter is concerned, the Commission met the situation on page 324 of its report where it stated that

"If it be objected that the prohibition of occasional cultivation of a few plants in the private gardens or enclosures of individuals will be difficult to enforce, to this the Commission would reply—

"(1) This difficulty has been overcome in Bengal, Assam, and the Central Provinces, in parts of which, as abundantly established by the evidence taken by the Commission, this sporadic cultivation was equally prevalent.

"(2) The difficulty is not so great as it seems; for whereas at first sight it seems that it would be necessary in order to enforce the prohibition to increase establishments and exercise vexatious interference with the people, such has not been found from experience gained in other provinces to be actually the case. The difficulty of concealing the plant and the evidence of illegality involved in the mere existence of a prohibited plant in occupied lands, coupled with a legal prohibition, has in fact sufficed almost to exterminate such growth in tracts where ganja is produced with a minimum of prosecutions and penalties."

Comparing what is quoted above with what the Commission itself had implied in other parts of its report, it may be held with

every claim to fairness that it first raised a bogey and then laid it itself.

Some Legitimate Conclusions

It is maintained that the only conclusion it is possible to arrive at after a study of all the evidence placed before the Hemp Drugs Commission is that, in the language of paragraph 166 of its report,

"There are not sufficient grounds for supposing that the home-stead cultivation or the fostering of the wild plant is carried on on any extensive scale."

The reason for this as well as for the extremely limited use of the so-called ganja obtainable from tended and untended wild hemp plants, as well as from clandestine cultivation in the language of the Commission, is that

"It is not often that these practices produce anything superior to bhang."

This possesses such limited intoxicating properties that addicts smoking it derive little enjoyment.

One reason for the inferior quality of what for want of a better term has been called wild ganja may be that it is not made to undergo the same processes as the licit drug now available and the effect of which is to remove from it all moisture and inert material thereby increasing its potency.

Another suggestion which seems quite reasonable is that the hemp plant has to be cultivated with great care and much labour to ensure its vigorous growth as a preliminary to securing from it the maximum quantity and best quality of the narcotic principle. This implies rearing the plants in a rich and well-manured soil together with the adoption of rather elaborate methods of cultivation. This is generally absent in the case of both wild growth and clandestine cultivation as it would invite the suspicion of those who might notice it including the subordinate staff of the Excise department, always on the look-out for such infringements of law.

It is maintained that this is the main factor which explains why ganga from wild plants with or without some kind of treatment as well as that obtained from surreptitious cultivation, is so inferior in quality to the licit variety of the drug produced under proper conditions that only those among the poorer addicts who cannot afford it

inspite of its inexpensiveness as compared with other easily available stimulants and narcotics, have recourse to it.

That properly prepared licit ganja is preferred to the above mentioned kind of ganja is proved by what is said in paragraph 234 of the *Report of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission* where, dealing with the Assam variety of this narcotic, it is stated that

"The extermination of the male plant in connection with the wild growth does not seem to be practised either in the valley or on the hills within and on the borders of the province. This is an essential preliminary to the preparation of the superior form of ganja. The dried tops make bhang which may be used for smoking or drinking. Excise ganja is known among the consumers as mohini bhang. The epithet mohini or fascinating is never applied to the wild product."

This proves that our real problem is the banning of licit ganja. Apprehensions that we shall meet frustration on account of ganja obtained from the sources dealt with so long seem practically unfounded. It was never a problem in the past nor is it likely to prove one in the future especially as the excise staff is now more efficiently organised and also because our country has been opened out so that detection of such offences is much easier today than it was half a century ago when the Hemp Drugs Commission was conducting its investigations.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM UNDER AKBAR*

LORRETTA NORRIS

"If a king while giving no protection (yet) levies a tribute (for grain on husbandmen) or a tax (on real estate), and receives tolls (or taxes, from merchants) (daily) gifts (of flowers, vegetables, etc.), and (moneys paid for) fines, he goes at once to hell.

"They say that king who takes a sixth share as the tribute (due him), but gives no protection, takes upon himself all the wickedness of the whole world."

The Ordinances of Manu, Lecture 8.

The above quotation from "The Ordinances of Manu" gives us the basic conception of land revenue in India, that is, that the people were required to pay a certain amount of what they produced from the soil, either in money or kind, to the king in return for protection.

There is some question as to the exact relationship between the king and his subjects in early times. Some writers have contended that the king was owner of the soil and the brotherhood were his tenants, paying a share of the produce by way of rent. Others have argued that the members of the brotherhood owned the land, paying a share of the produce to the king by way of tax. Others, again, hold that the juristic conception of ownership of land had not yet emerged when the texts of the Sacred Law were compiled, and that the relationship between king and brotherhood was contemplated as political not legal, in its nature; cultivation of land within a kingdom was a fact, which necessarily involved allegiance to the king and payment to him of a share the produce, while failure to pay was a breach of the Sacred Law and a definite act of rebellion.

We also learn that the accepted share of produce to be paid was one-sixth, or less, though the Laws of Manu allowed one-fourth to be taken in emergencies. However, we find that through the ages,

* This paper written by a graduate student of the Columbia University, New York, illustrates, as the paper on ancient Indian government published in the June issue does, the enthusiasm created in some American Universities for Indian studies. Much of it is due to the efforts of Dr. Taraknath Das—Editor Calcutta Review.

the amount of revenue actually collected by the kings and their administrators was much greater than that allowed by Manu.

Land revenue, having always been the chief source of income for the royal treasury, was an important issue in the administration of every kingdom. But it was not until the time of Akbar (1556-1605), the great Mogul emperor, that a definite system, which proved to be workable and profitable for the kingdom as well as the king, was inaugurated.

"Akbar had two main principles which guided him throughout his life in the rule of his empire:

1. To conquer that he might unite.

2. To introduce, as he conquered, principles so acceptable to all classes, to the prince as well as to the peasant, that they should combine to regard him as the protecting father, the unit necessary to ward off from them evil, the assurer to them of the exercise of their immemorial rights and privileges, the asserter of the right of the ablest independently of his religion, his caste, or his nationality, to exercise command under himself, the maintainer of equal laws and equal justice for all classes."[1]

In addition, the principle laid down by Kautilya, the early Hindu writer on statecraft, that "all undertakings depend upon finance, hence foremost attention should be paid to the treasury" was present in the mind of Akbar from the time that he emerged from 'behind the veil' and began to regard seriously the duties of his position.

The whole revenue administration was hopelessly corrupt at the time Akbar became emperor. A great deal of thought and work, along with a number of failures were necessary before a suitable system was finally worked out.

As early as 1565 or 1566, Muzaffar Khan Turbati did something to reform the financial confusion which had existed during Maham Anaga's brief tenure of power, but the details of his measures are not recorded. Two or three years later (1568), Shihab Khan (Shihabu-d-din), who was a careful expert, was appointed Finance Minister. He did a great deal toward checking embezzlement but the exact nature of the measures taken by him are not known.

[1] Akbar, Col. G. B. Malleson.

More definite reforms were effected in the fifteenth regnal year (1570-1) when Muzaffar Khan Turbati with the aid of Todar Mall prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue based on estimates framed by the local Kanungos[1] and checked by ten superior Kanungos at headquarters. The amount of the demand was somewhat less than in former years, but the discrepancy between the estimate and the actual receipts was diminished. The early assessments had been simply rough guesses made with little or no help from hereditary officials with local knowledge.

The Conquest of Gujarat in 1573 gave Todar Mall the opportunity for further exercise of his special abilities. He was sent to make the land revenue assessment of the newly conquered province. This detail took him appproximately six months. Certain districts which had been conquered by the local kings were restored to neighbouring jurisdictions so that the provincial area as taken under direct imperial administration was largely reduced.

We here now for the first time of systematic measurement as a preliminary to the 'settlemnt'[2] or assessment of the land revenue. Sixty-four out of 184 'parganas'[3] or subdivisions were surveyed. About two-thirds of the area measured was found to be cultivated or fit for cultivation and in that portion of the total area the assessment was determined with reference to the area and quality of the land. In the rest of the province the government share of the produce was determined either by actual division of the grain heaps at harvest time or by the official selection of a certain portion of each field while the crop was still standing. The total revenue demand appears to have been largely reduced when compared with that levied by the kings.

Payment in either money or kind was permitted, a preference being given to cash collections. The collectors were instructed that

[1] Kanungo was an officer retained as a special authority on all customs and usages connected with the tenure of land. The office was hereditary. It still survives in the United Provinces in a modified form. Some of the old Kanungo families used to be mines of information and they were often in possession of ancient documents.

The word 'Kanungo' means 'expounder of the law' or 'customary rules'. Akbar's Kanungos were graded into three classes with allowances respectively equivalent to twenty, thirty, and fifty rupees per month.

[2] The word 'settlement' in this technical sense is a translation of the Persian term 'bandobast'. It includes all the processes necessary for the assessment of the 'land revenue' or crown rent, that is to say, the State's share of the produce of the cultivated land or its cash equivalent.

The main factors in a settlement' were the persons with whom the contract should be made, the amount of money demanded, the modes of collection, the penalties for default and the term for which the arrangement should hold good.

[3] A 'pāragana' is a division of land nearly equalling a barony.

'when it would not prove oppressive, the value of the grain should be taken in ready money at the market price.'

The 'settlement' was made for a term of ten years with a demand uniform for each year. It thus appears that all the essential features of Raja Todar Mall's later 'settlement' in Northern India were anticipated by him in Gujarat in 1574-75. Shihab Khan, who governed the province from 1577 to 1583 or 4, continued to develop the arrangements made by Todar Mall.

In 1575-76, Akbar decided to disregard the old traditional local jurisdictions for revenue and administrative purposes called 'parganas' and to divide the empire as it then existed, with the exception of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat into 182 purely artificial areas, each yielding a 'crore' or 10 millions of 'tankas' equal to 2,50,000 rupees. The officers appointed to collect the revenue were styled Amils or Karoris. The change was not a success and was not persisted in, but the title of Amil long survived.

The most important reforms in fiscal administration were those effected in 1579-80, the 24th and 25th regnal years when Akbar made an almost complete separation between the general administration of the country and the business of the land revenue, a distinction of which survivals may be traced even at the present day. General business was brought before the Emperor by the Prime Minister; revenue business was dealt with in a separate office in charge of the Revenue Minister, who had direct access to the Emperor.

For general purposes the empire was divided into twelve provinces (Subas) or viceregal governments each in charge of a Viceroy (Soobader). The Subas were composed of more than one hundred Sarkars or districts, each Sarkar being an aggregate of Parganas, also called Mahals. For example, the Suba of Agra included 13 Sarkars and 203 Parganas. The Sarkar of Agra, 1,864 square miles in area comprised 31 Parganas.[1] The territorial gradation was essentially the same as that now in existence in Northern India under different names, but of course, infinite changes in detail have occurred.[2]

The viceroy, who was appointed by the Emperor, received orders directly from him in everything except revenue administration. In addition, officers who may be styled Commandants were appointed by the Emperor to particular centres, charged with the duties of sup-

[1] Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl.

[2] The statistics in the Ain are arranged accordingly without reference to the 'karori' system.

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pressing, or rather forestalling, rebellion, keeping the roads open and putting down violent crime. Each of the larger cities had a City Governor, who, subject to orders from above, was a local autocrat, combining the function of magistrate, police commissioner and mayor.

The revenue administration was concerned primarily with the assessment and collection of the land revenue, but in some provinces it dealt also with customs, the salt tax and a few other items.

The bulk of the revenue was assigned to officers of the State Service, but certain areas were reserved for the imperial treasury, and the work of the Ministry thus fell into two main divisions, the management of the reserved areas, and the allocation of assignments. For the former purpose the Minister had a Commissioner in each province, taking orders directly from him and independent of the Viceroy; and the Commissioner had a staff of Collectors whose main duties were to assess and collect the revenue of their circles, but who also acted as Governors for the purpose of the general administration. Allocation of assignments was done at the headquarters of the Revenue Ministry, not by a local staff. Such officer was, it may be said, in the position of a Collector within the area assigned to him, but as a rule he appointed a representative to live on the spot and this representative acted as Governor for the area in his charge.

Regarding the assessment of the revenue, it will be readily understood that to weigh and divide the produce of the land, field by field, and season by season, was not a practical proposition, and far back in the Hindu period we get glimpses of various simplifications of procedure. From the time of the Turks onward, there were two schools of opinion; one of which favoured assessment by simplified methods of the sum payable by each peasant, while the other preferred to assess a lump sum on the village as a whole, leaving the peasants to calculate the share due from each. The latter course was obviously the simpler but it was open to the objection that the stronger peasants might be tempted to oppress the weaker. In Akbar's eyes this objection was conclusive, and he decided on the alternative of individual assessment.

To begin with, he worked the system introduced by Sher Shah who apparently had taken the same view and who, had he lived longer, might have enjoyed a reputation equal to that of Raja Todar Mall, Akbar's famous minister. The principles of Sher Shah's system may be summed up as follows:

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1. The correct measurement of the land.

2. The ascertaining of the average production of a block of land per bigha.[1]

3. The settlement of the proportion of that amount to be paid to the government.

4. The fixing of the equivalent in money for the settled amount in kind.[2]

After a short time that system broke down badly and a period of experiment followed resulting in the evolution of an alternative which so far as we know, was workable and substantially just, though the charge on the peasants was very high when judged by modern standards.

Akbar, however, was not obsessed by the principle of administrative uniformity and was ready to allow for local conditions. In the hill country and in Lower Sind, in Bengal and in the provinces beyond the Narbada, he permitted the continuance of the practices already in force even though they conflicted with the conclusions he had reached. His distinctive system was confined to the plains of Northern India, outside Bengal.

The essence of his system, which applied to assignments as well as to the reserved areas, was that each unit of area sown was charged with a sum of money (varying with the crop), calculated to represent the average value of one-third of the produce; each peasant thus knew, when he planned his season's cropping, what liability he was incurring. When the crops came up, measuring parties went to work under the Collector's supervision, and ascertained the area of each crop sown by each peasant. The Collector's clerks then calculated the sum due from each peasant at the rates in force and this sum was collected at harvest, with an allowance for any area in which the crop had failed to mature.

The weak point in this system was that, while the peasant could tell beforehand what he would have to pay, he could not forecast the price his produce would yield, and, owing to imperfect means of communication, prices fluctuated within very wide limits both from market to market and from time to time. The peasant was reasonably well protected against bad harvests, for if his crop failed he had

[1] Bigha—a portion of land measuring in the North-west provinces nearly five-eighths of an acre. In Bengal it is not quite one-third of an acre.

[2] Akbar established a uniform standard to supersede the differing standards theretofore employed.

nothing to pay; but if the local market was glutted, his produce might for the time be almost unsaleable. This actually occurred between 1585 and 1590 when very large sums of revenue had to be written off because a series of exceptionally good harvests had left the country from Delhi to Allahabad overstocked with produce and the peasants could not turn their crops into money.

The first step in the new system of 'settlement' operations was measurement. The next was the classification of lands and the third was the fixation of rates for application to the classified areas.

Regarding the first step, measurements had been formerly made by a hempen rope which, unfortunately, contracted or lengthened according to the amount of moisture in the air. From 1575 on, the rope was replaced by a 'jarib' or bamboos joined by iron rings which remained of constant length. The units of measurement were fixed as the necessary preliminary to the task of surveying the land.

The 'gaz' or yard was determined as being equal to forty-one digits or finger-breadths, or about thirty-three inches.

The 'tanab' or 'chain' was sixty gaz and the 'bigha' or unit of superficial measure was sixty gaz square or 3600 square gaz. The 'tanab' was also known as the 'jarib'.

The precaution of depositing at the capitol carefully attested metal standards is not mentioned as having been taken; and if it had been, the standards would probably have been lost long ago. The exact length of Akbar's 'gaz' is not known. The assumption adopted by the British revenue authorities in 1825-6 that the gaz should be deemed the equivalent of thirty-three inches (equal to 83.82 cm.) was an arbitrary decision formed for convenience, because inquiry showed that calculated values ranged from 29.20 to 33.70 inches.

It is interesting to note that modern 'settlement officers' usually prefer a classification based on either the natural or artificial qualities of the soil, and divide the land into classes of clay, loam, irrigated or unirrigated, etc. Todar Mall and Akbar took no account of soils whether natural or artificial and based their classification on the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation.

They divided the lands of the kingdom into the following four different kinds, and fixed a revenue to be paid by each.

1. Poolej-land, which is that land which is cultivated for every harvest being never allowed to lie fallow.

2. Perowty-land, which is that land which is kept out of cultivation for a short time (one to two years) in order that the soil may recover its strength.

3. Checker-land, which is that land which had been lain fallow three or four years.

4. Bunjer-land, which is that land which had not been cultivated for five years and upward.

Both of the first two kinds of land were sub-divided into three sorts, namely, best, middling and bad. The system was such that the produce of a bigha of each sort was added together and one-third of that aggregate sum was the medium produce of one bigha of poolej-land, one-third part of which was the revenue settled by His Majesty. In other words, the average produce of the class was calculated from the mean of the three grades in it. Although the kinds of crops were numerous, the area under each crop had its own rate. Also a separate set of rates was compiled for the spring and the autumn harvests.

To clarify this system, let us take as an example a few items of a spring harvest of poolej-land called in Hindostan Assadhy. The revenue was ordered to be paid in ready money. The following table is an example of the rates set forth.[1]

The first three columns of figures are the produce of a bigha of poolej-land, the type being indicated. The fourth column shows the aggregate produce of three bighas of different sorts. The fifth column is one-third of the preceding, being the medium produce of a bigha of poolej-land. The last column is one-third of the medium produce of a bigha, being the proportion fixed for revenue.

Crop	Best	Middling	Worst	Aggregate	Medium	Revenue
	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.[2]
Wheat	18 0	12 0	8 35	38 35	12 38¼	4 12 3/4
Barley	18 0	12 20	8 15	38 35	12 38¼	4 12 3/4
Linseed	6 20	5 10	3 30	15 20	5 7	1 29
Peas	13 0	10 20	8 25	32 5	10 23	3 23

[1] Taken from a table in Ain., Vol. I, Part III, p. 307.

[2] Md.—Maund, which is equivalent to 55½ pounds.
Sr.—Seer, which is equivalent to 21 ounces,
Forty seers equal one maund.

Perowty-land when cultivated, paid the same revenue as poolej land. In the case of Checker-land, that is, when the land, either from excessive rain or by reason of inundation, had suffered so much that the husbandman found difficulty in cultivating it, he was allowed to pay the revenue in the following proportions : the first year, two-fifths of the produce ; the second year, three-fifths; and the third and fourth years, four-fifths each ; and the fifth year as poolej. According to circumstances, the revenue was allowed to be paid either in money or in kind.

The following table shows the proportions in which the revenue was collected when the land had been greatly injured by inundation and thus came under the category of bunjer-land. The figures are quoted from a spring harvest of a bigha of bunjer-land for four years ; after which it became poolej.

		1st yr.		2nd yr.		3rd yr.		4th yr.	
		Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.
Wheat	R	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0
Barley	I	0	20	1	0	2	0	5	0
Mustard	R	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10
Linseed	I	0	5	0	20	0	30	1	10
Linseed	R	0	5	0	5	0	30	1	10

In the above table 'I' stands for inundated land, while 'R' stands for that which had suffered from rain.[1]

Only the area actually under cultivation was assessed. The collector of revenue was instructed to 'let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year and under the pledge of his engagements take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage.[2]

The early rough guess-work assessments had been largely based on the statistics of prices current, so far as they had any statistical foundation at all. They were largely influenced by the 'caprice of the moment.' When the empire was enlarged it became difficult to procure the current prices every year from all parts of the kingdom, and the delays that this occasioned in making the settlement were

[1] Ain.
[2] Ain., Book II.

productive of many inconveniences. Sometimes the husbandmen would cry out against the exorbitancy of the demands made upon them and those who had assessments to collect complained of balances. Akbar, therefore, directed that a settlement should be concluded for ten years. The principles of this ten years' settlement are best explained in the words of Abul Fazl :

"When through the prudent management of the Sovereign, the empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year, the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay.

"His majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a settlement for ten years ; the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested.

"From the beginning of the 15th year of the Divine Era (A. D. 1570-71) to the 24th (1579-80) an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and one-tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment ; but from the 20th (1575-76) to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and one-tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment, but from the 20th to the 24th year, the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the years of the most abundant harvest accepted." [1]

Akbar's system was also unique in that the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue. The collector was directed to stipulate that 'the husbandman bring his rents himself at definite periods so that the malpractices of low intermediaries may be avoided.' In addition, the Bitikchi, or accountant, was instructed that 'when the survey of the village is complete, he shall determine the assessment of each cultivator and specify the revenue of the whole village.' But if 'the village headman should aid the authorities by collecting the full rental, he was to be allowed one-fortieth of each bigha, or otherwise rewarded according to the measure of his services.'

Various regulations made by Akbar's government were designed to obviate the hardships of a cut and dried revenue system. The

[1] Ain., Vol. II, p. 88.

taxes were fixed in money value but every cultivator was allowed to pay in kind if he thought the money rate was not fair. However, for certain of the more special and valuable crops, such as sugar-cane and poppy, cash rates were obligatory. If the assessment of his land seemed too high to him, the cultivator had the right to insist upon the measurement and division of his crops. A rebate on the full demand was supposed to have been allowed in various cases, for example, when the land had suffered from floods or had been out of cultivation for three years. But remissions evidently were not easy to obtain, at least we have no knowledge of the extent to which they were granted.

Besides assessing and realising the revenue, Collectors were required to follow a policy of agricultural development designed to increase its amount and they, or the Commissioners, had wide discretionary powers to vary the system when necessary so as to bring waste land under the plough and increase the area of the more valuable crops. For these purposes they could reduce the rates ordinarily charged and they could also advance the capital required. Assuming then an honest and efficient staff, the system was made for the economic improvement of the empire; how far this object was attained is uncertain, but the absence of agrarian trouble suggests that the peasants as a whole were content and in the circumstances of time content would ordinarily imply development. Trade was certainly brisk and in ordinary years food was extraordinarily cheap.

Averse to war except for the purpose of completing the empire he was building, Akbar took care that neither the owners nor the tillers of the soil should be injuriously affected by his own movements, or by the movements of his armies. With the object of carrying out this principle he ordered that when a particular plot of ground was decided upon as an encampment, orderlies should be posted to protect the cultivated ground in its vicinity. He further appointed assessors whose duty it was to examine the encamping ground after the army had left it and to place the amount of any damage done against the government claim for revenue. The historian of the "Tabakat-i-Akbari" adds that this practice became a rule in all his campaigns; and 'sometimes even bags of money were given to these inspectors so that they might at once estimate and satisfy the claims of the farmers and obviate any interference with the revenue collectors.' This plan deprived war of its horrors for the people over whose territories it was necessary to march.

In the 19th year of his reign (1574), Akbar noticed on his many journeys, that a very great part of the territories he had traversed remained uncultivated. The evil was neither to be attributed to the nature of the soil, which was rich, nor to the laziness of the people. After examining the matter, Akbar came to the conclusion that the fault rather lay with the administration which placed upon the land a tax which rendered cultivation prohibitive to the poor man. The evil, he thought might be remedied if some plan could be devised for dividing the profits of the first year between the government and the cultivator. He arranged that the several Parganas or subdivisions of the districts should be examined and that those which contained so much land as on cultivation would yield ten millions of 'tankas'[1] should be divided off and given in charge of an honest and intelligent officer who was to receive the name of Karori. The clerks and accountants of the exchequer were to make arrangements with these officers and send them to their respective districts, where, by vigilance and attention, the uncultivated land might in the course of three years be brought into a state of production and the revenues recovered for the government. This scheme was carried out and was found to realize all the advantages it promised.

Akbar, no doubt, was sincerely anxious to deal fairly with the cultivators whose industry provided the principal part of the revenue. His system certainly increased the imperial revenue and at the same time gave the peasant a certain amount of security. He did away with a number of vexatious supplementary taxes and fees by which even Hindu rulers had often raised the total amount of the land tax above the limit fixed by Indo-Aryan constitutional law.

However, Todar Mall's demand of one-third of the average produce was double the amount which Indo-Aryan political economists held to be justifiable in normal times and even exceeded that which they allowed as an emergency measure when the safety of the State was seriously threatened. The cultivators were supposed to be compensated by the abolishment of a crowd of cesses. For example, in 1563, Akbar issued an order for the abolition of all taxes on pilgrims. Later, he abolished the oppressive 'jizya' or poll tax on unbelievers which from the days of the Prophet had been a sacrosanct institution in Muhammedan finance. But we do not really know how far the orders for such abolition were carried out.

[1] Blockmann, in his Ain-i-Akbari, states that according to Abul Fazl, the weight of one dam was five tankas. As the copper coin known as the 'dam' was 1/40 part of a rupee, ten millions of tankas would equal 50,000 rupees.

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On the other hand, the condition of the country could not be considered normal. Akbar had a gigantic task to perform and the people were probably happy to pay the price for a strong central government which could give them peace, prosperity and an honest administration.

Oldham calculated that in the Ghazipur District Akbar's revenue assessment worked out at two rupees per acre as against one and a half in 1870, the assessment then in force being that made in 1789 when the country was in a very depressed and backward state. In Kashmir, Akbar took one-half the crop.

The government in Northern India no longer deals directly with the cultivator. Private rent has been allowed to develop so that crops have to provide for at least three parties, the State, the landlord and the tenant. Akbar did not recognize the existence of a landlord class. He left the cultivator as much of the crops as was considered to be necessary for a tolerable existence and took the rest for the state.

No single man can be named as the author of this agrarian system which was developed by degrees. For portions of it, Akbar himself was certainly responsible. Apart from him, the main credit is due to Raja Todar Mall, a Hindu belonging to one of the mercantile castes, who, beginning his life as a clerk, rose to be Revenue Minister and for a time, Prime Minister.

Todar Mall was a man of strict integrity and a most capable departmental chief. By his exertions, the systematic plundering of both the treasury and the ryots by the revenue officials was effectually checked. The ryots knew the limit of the government's demands and were relieved from the gang of unscrupulous thieves who acted as agents for the Padshah. The imperial treasury was filled to overflowing and Akbar's political plans were never hampered for lack of financial means.

As Revenue Minister, Todar Mall had the advantage of his experience as a Hindu landowner and thorough knowledge of the ancient village customs and traditions, so that his whole scheme as regards the measurement of land, classification of the soils and assessment could be expeditiously carried out with the good will of the villagers.

But the great fame which Todar Mall acquired on account of his revenue system must be considered more as a testimony of the people's gratitude for relief from the intolerable burden which had

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weighed upon them almost continually from the first days of the Muhammedan rule than as an acknowledgment of its intrinsic merits as financial legislation. Nevertheless, in this as in so many other matters, Akbar's administration gathered lustre from the misdeeds of his predecessors.

Akbar's method of assessment did not survive its founder for long. There is no record of a formal change, but we know that within half a century of his death the general practice was to assess the revenue annually as a lump sum payable by the village as a unit and to hold the headmen responsible for its payment.

INDIA AND NEW ORDER

AN ESSAY ON INDIAN RENAISSANCE PLANNING

SRISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

In every planning in Free India, the rhythm of the Nation's life and the life principles of Man, regulated by the astral injunction, should be harmonised with the Law of Nature in respect of creating her biological and organic masterpieces. The ordered system of the universe (cosmos)—the Nature external and internal—is an imanation from the supreme Force ; the eternal *Brahman* permeating the Truth of cosmic existence, the Beauty of creative Life.

The National Planning of the Emperor Asoka (Dhammasoka) in India of 2000 years ago, was strongly synthesised on such cosmic order. Profoundly did it harmonise with the manifestations of Nature, animated and inanimated, as authenticated by his humane legislations and philanthropic inscriptions, and embodied in the sublime architecture and sculpture sanctifying the eloquent stones of Sanchi and Bharhut. The planning of Varnasramdharma (Caste system) by the Hindu psychologists and sociologists adhered to this very order in the intellectual, ethical and spiritual growth of each individual who functioned as an ardent member of one of the community-groups that composed over all the organism of the entire society. Each and every member in the society enjoyed opportunities of self-realization, self-development and self-expression, both secular and spiritual. That spirit of integrated, intensified, social harmony balancing ethical doctrine with moral discipline, became so vivid, so realistic, in ancient Indian life and living, because of that. Historians cannot dispute that. That social organization in Upanishadic Hindusthan which treated every man, every living being, the fauna and flora, as members of one vast universal society, has gradually been disrupted under alien political subjugations in the last three or four hundred years.

The inner spiritual life of ancient India that stimulated and fostered the socio-cultural organism of the Hindu nation, long after the Vedic and Upanishadic ages, remained in tact under the Gupta, Pala, Chalukya, Chola, Rastrakutha and Rajput monarchs. The

system of grouping Four Castes (law-maker Brahman, military Kshatriya, commercial Vaisya, and labourer Sudra), with its inherent integrity and catholic outlook, never had to face acute hostile factions. It allocated specific duties, assigned definite scopes, for each group to work in unison with other fellow groups for the benefit of all. It maintained a rhythm of harmony between Life and Spirit. Consequently Indraprastha and Ayodhya, Pataliputra and Vijaynagar became full of virility, prosperity and potentiality. This is not an utopian belief. Their glories have been recorded in epics and literature and corroborated by foreign travellers, envoys, ambassadors, and by the seekers of Indian wisdom who came to this country for the purpose of study during successive ages.

After dark ages of unrest, the world seems to enter upon a new phase, new order, in which wisdom and action, love and charity, trust and toleration, art and science are to combine in order to unite and exalt all peoples into one social entity, one human society. India throughout the long periods of her history covering over 5000 years, has cultivated most assiduously the psychological discipline, yoga, to enable man to emerge out of his primary ignorance for the attainment of true positive knowledge. After successive failures of materialistically great, scientifically trained, western powers to achieve world-peace,—inter-social harmony and inter-racial security,—India with her treasures of cultural, spiritual, wisdom and her soul force is being looked upon to guide the formation of a New Order for the liberation of the seething suffering masses. Mahatma Gandhi has heralded the beacon light to guide the Man to discover the greatest land marks in the domain of international co-operation through the realm of philosophical and socio-religious thought and action.

There happened certain great periods in the History of Civilization which witnessed Unity of Culture—when man's conceptions harmonized with the external world, when human spirit was not condemned to go its way alone, when reality never meant struggle for existence. Such unity of culture shaped Athens under Pericles, Rome under Augustus, Ujjaini (India) under Vikramaditya. Human life manifested splendours as was possible then Greater splendours are looming large on the distant horizon across the dismal abyss of surrender, behind the dark glooms of despair. They are awaiting the dawn of a new spiritual awakening.

Philosophy, Art and Science—intuition, mystic impulse and imagination—will open up new spheres of the unconscious. Those

spheres will conquer the interference of the outer world, external material power. India under Asoka the Great enacted such spiritual conquest. In the first part of Asoka's eventful career the law of his life directed his energy towards the attainment of material satisfaction through his external power, as he followed hedonism. That part of his life terminated in the physical conquest of Kalinga. But, in the second part, the law of his life directed his soul force towards the spiritual evolution of expansion through subordinating such physical passions and material satisfactions to the realization of sublime spiritual objective, as he followed the universal Religion of Love. It terminated in his corporal surrender to the expansive mood of divine life. The human civilization he planned and built up, eventually, established, firmly, the communion of the day to day avocation of the individual human with his spiritual pursuit for the benefit of humanity. By expounding the Message of the Vedanta before the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, Swami Vivekananda enunciated India's spiritual yearning the pursuit of which by mankind could, as he perceived, usher in liberating the oppressed humanity. Unable to bear the insurgence of its relentless aggression on the Soul Internal, the eternal shrine of serene tranquillity, Mahatma Gandhi cried a halt to the demon of the Power External. His radiant compassion has been growingly dispelling the egoistic arrogance of Violence. He has kindled Truth-Consciousness for purifying the Society at large unifying the seekers of Non-violence under the ensign of peace perpetual. His self-less Self unfolded its latent divinity by subjugating the agnostic environments through invoking the supreme blessing of " Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram : Patita Pavana Sita Ram " the Central Force of cosmic Life, the eternal Spring of Love Divine.

" There is being revealed in different spheres of activity " observes S. Giedion, " an affinity in methods of approach, which, though developed independently in each sphere, still underlies all what is significant in our thinking and feeling." Yes, it is so. There will surely grow a true hidden unity, a secret synthesis in the philosophy and art and civilization that is in the process of evolution. We are slowly, surely, advancing towards ethical civilizations in which the intellectual and moral principles, the modes of psychological solidarity, will contribute to the spontaneous collaboration of groups and peoples with a view to generating simultaneous progress in every domain—scientific, artistic, moral, religious, juridical, technical, economic and political. Which is the best easiest approach for such

international progress, surmounting the barriers of bigotry and intolerance, one has the liberty to question. How is that progress possible in Modern Age under Modern Material Civilization that sordidly stands for political domination and ruthless exploitation? How to save Nature's children from the iron fist of Frankenstein? That is the crux of the problem of the agitated world.

In this age of racial recrimination, religious bigotry and social intolerance when, in the garb of progress, rank materialism and barbarity have been threatening to undermine all that human culture has produced in past ages. India's contribution to the evolution of a New Order through a World-Architecture, a Human Planning, which is in progress, will be emblematic of the coming human family, and help in its advent. It is for India to take a prominent part in working out a cultural synthesis worthily representing the fundamental unity of humanity and of all their faiths, so as to engender lasting peace and harmony on earth. And architecture which is a mature fruit of the tree of civilization, an embodiment of human passion for truth and beauty, is the fittest among all the fine arts to give form and inspiration to the spirit of international fellow-feeling. India's broad, spiritual outlook on life, reflected on and symbolized in the human-architecture of tomorrow, will guide the liberator along the way to the solution of the problems confronting human society which at present are menacing man's very existence. That such spiritual outlook is a need of the times is ammply evident from the fact that Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa who taught the world religious toleration and universal amity has found his way into the hearts of the peoples of all lands.

Architecture may be considered as the culmination of the cultural aspiration of a nation. It has always marched with the progressing culture of the ages, giving shape to evolving human ideals and faiths. One may question, what is really the ideal of the civilization on which the Human Planning and Human Architecture are to be based? The answer is: the coming civilization with New Order has to be evolved out of a cultural synthesis of the human aspects of ethics and aesthetics, science and art. It has to create and foster a Lordless society of all human beings which will look to the world under the canopy of the eternal blue as a peaceful abode, HOME, for all. All its members will enjoy equal rights, equal privileges, equal status and equal amenities of life without any distinction whatsoever.

Architecture is a great agency for evoking the spirit of international brotherhood. The ideal of brotherhood is more readily advanced through art, because thereby we experience both inwardly and outwardly the evolution of the Commonwealth of Beauty, whose inheritors we are. The evolution of humanity and civilisation culminates in Beauty and Art. There is no question that Beauty and Art are the great factors in the new conception of life with the ideal of service to humanity,—they are the prime movers in the approaching evolution. Seers like Tolstoy considered art as the means of ending hostility and warfare.

The evolution of the New Order rests on the cornerstone of Knowledge and Beauty. The religion, which ceases to enunciate a sterile dogma and foster a spirit of destructive bigotry, the philosophy which establishes a truly intellectual communion between man and nature, and the science which correlates human activities with the spirit of the melody of Nature would contribute to international brotherhood and inter-religious harmony in the approaching New Order, when wedded to the intuitive humanization through Truth and Beauty,—which is Architecture and Art. A noble architecture has always succeeded in creating a current of ideas, sentiment and collective compartments, which persists and develops and becomes a social reality, a moral force—the source of action and collective life.

Art has a profound relationship with Religion, relating as it does to the fundamental experiences of the human soul in its communion with God. Architecture to be true to itself must be characterised by that aesthetic and spiritual appeal which frees the mind of the onlooker from the shackles of materialistic influence. It must, as Ruskin observes, kindle the lamps of Sacrifice, Truth, Power and Beauty. In past ages Architecture was employed as one of the principal means of worshipping God and Nature, and it stood as an embodiment of Devotion and Sacrifice. Had it catered merely to the material needs of man for leading a mere barrack life, adhering to conditions of economy, utility, commercialism and industrialism, the glorious architecture of bygone ages in which every nation takes pride would never have reared its head. The New Order with its roots in humanistic traditions, fed by congenital materials brought from the Orient and Occident, may be expected to build deep a strong foundation for a hall for all the arts—spiritual, impersonal, interracial, eternal—the arts which are life-givers to men's souls, wearied now with the artificialities and bitterness of modern scramble. India

has immense treasures, material and spiritual, to offer to the International Temple of Art and Civilization for the evolution of a New Order.

The New Order will seek to establish a synthetic view on Life conceived not statically but dynamically as a progressive Evolution of Humanity other than a preposterous Revolution for material lowering down. That cosmic Humanism will liberate the system of humanism concerned with Man's material interests from its limitation of outlook, its restriction of service, by finding man in the Universe and the Universe in Man.

MM. Dr. SATISCHANDRA VIDYABHUSAN

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In connection with the Tashi Lama's pilgrimage to India, Prof. Vidyabhusan came to be known to Mr. J. C. White, C. I. E., Political Resident of Sikkim. From him, Prof. Vidyabhusan learnt about 35 monasteries (including Padangi) in Sikkim (chief among them being Labrang, Pamiangchi, Phodang, Sang-ngag-tsi-ling and Tashiding monasteries) containing a large collection of Tibetan Mss. and Xylographs. Prof. Vidyabhusan resolved to undertake an adventurous journey to those monasteries, specially Labrang and Pamiangchi, which (he learnt) contained numerous Tibetan books, including a complete copy of the Tangyur and the Kangyur.[1] It appears like an ambassadorial work.

On the 31st May, 1907, Prof. Vidyabhusan started with the credentials of Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. Earle (Director of Public Instruction, Bengal) and Mr. C. H. Bompas, I. C. S. (Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling).[2] On his arrival at Gangtok, His Highness the Maharaja Sir Jhu-tob-nam-gyal, K. C. I. E. and the Maharani of Sikkim (daughter of the Prime Minister of Tibet) both showed him the kindest consideration. Mr. J. C. White received him very kindly; and as the time at his disposal was short, he took letters of introduction to the Lamas of some monasteries, written in Tibetan, which may be translated into English as follows :—

Passport.

From Wara Sahib, Political Resident of Sikkim, To The Council of Monks, Labrang,

[1] *Vide* his 'Travels in Sikkim' (Bharati, 1908).

[2] At the time of my departure, Rai Sarat Ch. Das Bahadur came to see me, offering me some oranges and a lantern. 'Please accept these', he said, 'as a traveller's humble gifts'. Riding I arrived at the Teesta Bridge, a very important station between Tibet, Sikkim and India. I was welcomed by the Deputy Forest Ranger, who accommodated me in the upper flat of a new building within a mile of Triveni junction, where the Ranjeet and another river flew into the Teesta. Leaving Teesta Bridge and following up the course of the river Teesta by the Tibetan route, I arrived at the Rungpo valley situated on the river Rungpo (on which there is an artistic drawbridge), the source of which lies on a snow-covered lake at Phari and which falls into the Teesta at a place called Bhotang. Again following up the course of the river Teesta, I arrived at Singdom where there is a small river, which, flowing from the Upper Sikkim, empties itself into the Teesta. I pursued the new river which took me to Khola Bridge (deriving its name from the beautiful bridge which is supported by a spring). I had to walk a good many miles, tormented by leeches all the while. The coolies suddenly fell on the ground attacked with fever; I nursed them and brought them round. Then I resumed my journey. I thus arrived at Gangtok."—Prof. Vidyabhusan.

Communication:

Now from here Satis Ch. Vidyabhusan is going to Labrang to see and examine Tangyur. For that purpose the Lamas must let Him read the Puthis. Moreover, whatever assistance he wants must be given. In that direction keep your heart—I request. Fire sheep year, 4th month, date 25th; from Gangtok Kuthi. Sent letter from Wara Sahib, Political Resident, Sikkim, 1907.

Sd.G. J. White, Political Officer,
Gangtok, 4th June, 1907.

A similar letter was addressed to the Lamas of Phodang monastery.[1]

Next morning, Prof. Vidyabhusan arrived at the Labrang monastery situated on a hill overlooking the snowy range of Khangri and belonging to Nyina-ma-pa sect of Tibet. It contains the images of Buddhas, Bodhisatvas and saints and a very large collection of Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts and blockprints including nearly the whole of the Tangyur and the Kangyur. Prof. Vidyabhusan examined them thoroughly; and brought, among other things, a copy of the earliest work extant on the Buddhist Logic, named 'Nyaya-prabesa, of the Mahayana Buddhists' (by Dignaga)[2] and a copy of a small treatise named 'Hetu-cakra-Hamaru' (or wheel of reasons) composed by Dignaga[3] in Andhra (modern Teligana of Madras Presidency). The Sanskrit original being lost, a Tibetan translation of it is preserved in the Tangyur.[4]

He then visited Phodang monastery belonging to Karmapa sect of Tibet, the head Lama being the Maharajkumar of Sikkim. It contains numerous images—Karmapa's image being at the centre of the Sanctuary, while on the left side is the image of Padmasambhava; and to his left is the image of Buddha. It contains numerous books as well.

1 "I started in the company of my attendants, which included a Lama (our guide) and our cook. The weather that day was extremely stormy and foul; and some inhabitants of Sikkim, *viz.* Bhuteas (who are a mixture of Lepchas, the original inhabitants, and the people from Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, China and Mongolia) advised me not to set out that afternoon. But as we could ill afford to lose a single day, we felt constrained to start that very afternoon. We had not gone far when the sky began to pour forth in torrents. Taking the reins of the horse in the left hand and the umbrella in the right, I tried to resist the blinding rains of the coldest clime and brave the elemental frowns as best as I could. But we got terribly drenched and thoroughly exhausted after a short time; and the shades of the evening were falling fast. No trace of human habitation or abode was to be found. Darkness of night made it absolutely impossible for us to keep the horses on the road, and they began to stumble. It was dreary and desolate all around. We saw one or two lights on the way, but we could never reach them; they seemed ever so far off, and twinkled like the will-o'-the wisp. At about 11 p. m. we found shelter in a lonely cottage. Next morning we reached Labrang monastery"—Prof. Vidyabhusan.

2 *Vide* Prof. Vidyabhusan's article in J. A. S. B., N. S. iii.

3 *Vide* Prof. Vidyabhusan's article in Journals and Proceedings of A. S B.

4 See *Mde* folios 193-194.

He visited Sang-ngag-tsi-ling monastery which is open to all classes of Tibetans, Limbus, etc. It contains the largest collection of curios and arts.

He visited Tashiding monastery situated on the confluence of rivers Rathong and Rungjeet—the holiest place resorted to by pilgrims from all quarters.

Thus Prof. Vidyabhusan visited all the monasteries except that of Pamiangchi which he could not make time to visit, his time being taken up in taking down notes on rare Tibetan works which he could not bring down with him. In the monasteries of Labrang and Phodang, he saw works of Bengali Buddhists with their portraits in wooden-blocks, and also the works of Kashmiri and Behari Buddhist authors (there being Buddhist University in Kashmir); he saw in these two monasteries many works of Bengali Buddhists, among others those of Chandragomi of Rajshahi, the eminent author of 'Chandra Vyakaran' and a writer on Buddhist Logic, after which the island known as Chandradwip in Backergunje District is called, a most interesting legend being associated with it. From Labrang and Phodang monasteries, he brought down copies of rare Tibetan works, Tibetan Mss. and block-prints bearing on Logic that lie hidden in those monasteries, and also the colophons at the end of each of the Tibetan works which he examined.

In 1908 Prof. Vidyabhusan received an invitation letter from the Maharaja and the Maharani of Sikkim requesting him to come over to Sikkim again to visit Pamiangchi.[1] On the 10th October, he started from Darjeeling with a passport from Mr. Crawford (Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling) and reached Sikkim.[2] The Maharani

[1] The Maharani wrote to Prof. Vidyabhusan the following letter :—

Bhutia Sa Tel Year
4th month, Gangtok,
26.6.08

My Dear Professor,

Last year when you came up about this time to go through the Tangyur at Labrang, you told me that you were so much interested that you would come up again this year at the Pujahs. Do you think that you will be able to do so? If you do, about what time will it be? You must let me know beforehand as to when you intend coming up, so that I may make some arrangements about making your journey and sojourn in Sikkim as easy as we can. Trusting you to be in perfect health,

I remain,
Yours truly,
Maharani.

[2] "On setting my foot on the territory of Sikkim, I was simply surprised to notice the extraordinary arrangements that had been made by the Maharaja to provide me with all possible necessaries and comforts"—Prof. Vidyabhusan.

wrote to the authorities of Pamiangchi monastery on behalf of Prof. Vidyabhusan, the following being the English translation of the Tibetan letter of introduction to the monks of Pamiangchi written by the Maharaja :—

To

The Incomparable School of Precious monks

Communication :

From Calcutta, India, a Sanskrit Pandit named Satis Ch. Vidyabhusan goes to have access to Tangyur, He being of different kingdom, provide him with a good residence. Whatever necessary objects the Babu himself wants, be that done in a worthy way. Whatever may benefit and assist him, that should be immediately rendered. This is very important. Bear in mind. I beseech you.

From Gangtok Palace

Earth-ape-year, month 8, date 8.[1]

On arriving at Pamiangchi on the third day[2], Prof. Vidyabhusan entered the monastery and presented before the monks the said letter of introduction ; and they received him well and gave him a ready access to the Tangyur blockprints.[3] Prof. Vidyabhusan stayed at Pamiangchi for eight days, during which time he had every facility for completing his Tibetan studies and making a searching examination of the Tangyur. By enormous labour, he gained access to the whole of the Buddhistic Logic.[4]

[1] "The Maharaja was very anxious to give me all facilities on the way to Pamiangchi. The royal mandate had gone forth to furnish us with all possible help; and at every stage of our halt, we found numbers of men waiting for us with various articles—all much too great for us to carry. Fruits, butter, milk, etc., almost in cartloads, were placed freely and abundantly at our disposal.

On arriving at Pamiangchi we saw three European consuls who were in need of provisions; and we gave them a quantity of our own."—Prof. Vidyabhusan.

[2] Pamiangchi monastery (facing the Kanchanjangha peaks), whose gates are shut against women, are supposed to be managed by Celibate monks of pure Tibetan race

[3] "They offered me a seat there for the night; but this I thankfully declined, and put up in the Dak Bangalow"—Prof. Vidyabhusan.

[4] Some of his writings during this period :—

i Sankhya philosophy in the land of the Lamas (JASB, NS, viii, No 8).
ii On the date of a copy of Svayambhu-purana (JASB. NS, V).
iii Kayastha Chākādas Tangadas and Bhubanāukar Sarma (Sahitya Parishad Patrika, 1907).

THE PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL FINANCE IN BENGAL : PAST AND PRESENT

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Nature of Credit Needs of Cultivators:—Amongst the comparatively poor cultivators, where, as in Bengal, the scope for saving is altogether lacking, the larger the interval between the successive receipts of the return for labour (*i.e.*, agricultural operations), the more difficult it becomes to avoid borrowing. As the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture observe : "If wages were paid monthly instead of weekly, only a very small proportion of the working classes of the world could exist without credit." [1] The Indian cultivator's financial position is precarious, and he has to wait for half a year before he received the return of his labour, and in far too large an area, where there is only one crop a year, the interval between successive receipts may be full twelve months. Taking the time-factor into account, the normal credit needs of the cultivators it is well known, have been classified into three catagories, namely, (*a*) short-term credit to meet the current expenses of production including the maintenance of the farmer and his family; (*b*) intermdiate-term credit for the purchase of cattle and farming implements; and (c) long-term credit for obtaining fixed capital to be invested permanently or for long periods.

It may be observed that short-term loans are purely seasonal in character and they are self-liquidating loans repayable out of the next harvest, except when such harvest fails ; in other words, out of the gross yield for the year. The intermediate loans which are recovered in kists spread over a small number of years (one to three) are repayable out of the normal annual net savings. The long-term loans which are required mainly to redeem the cultivator's prior debts and to improve his lands and methods of cultivation, admit of recovery only is small driblets over a substantially long period extending up to 25 to 30 years, or, as in some western countries, up to 75 years,[2] and ought to be made repayable, at least in part, from the enhanced margin of profit accruing from the increase in the yield of land,

[1] *Vide* Report of the Commission. Vol. I, p 432.
[2] *Vide* Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, p. 69.

consequent upon the judicious use of the loan. Thus the *'gross yield,'* normal *'net savings'* and enhanced *'margin of profits'* constitute, from a true economic standpoint, three distinct sources of repayment.[1]

It has been suggested that it is better to classify credit requirements of agriculturists into short-term, intermediate and long-term according to the period rather than according to the purpose. Otherwise, as the Bengal Banking Committee has observed, "there will be a difficulty, *e.g.*, if a small amount is borrowed to meet a small deficit incurred, say, in sinking a well, which can be, and will be repaid at the time of the next harvest, the loan should not be regarded as a long-term merely because it was granted for agricultural improvement.[2] But we ought not to overlook the fact that there are really purposes which 'are' long term purposes. Indeed, as the Central Banking Enquiry Committee say, "the purpose of the loan and the repaying capacity of the borrower determine the period of the loan."[3]

Estimate of Short and Intermediate Loans per year :—The Bengal Banking Committee estimated the total requirements for the short and intermediate loans for the then existing six million agriculturist families of Bengal in 1929 at Rs. 96 crores.[4] The estimate was made on the basis of the annual credit requirements of an average agricultural family, incurring annual expenses equal to Rs. 420 including cost of farming and of family maintenance. Deducting Rs. 100 as the value of home-grown rice, the annual cash requirements were estimated to be Rs. 320. This requirement (of Rs. 320), it was presumed, had to be met from the sale of the home-grown agricultural produce and from loans, but as the process of agriculture is spread over the whole year, it was assumed that one-half (Rs. 160) of this had to be borrowed as short term of intermediate loan. The author of the " Man Behind the Plough " (Sir Azizul Huq) estimated (1938) that "a minimum credit amounting to Rs. 60 crores " was needed.[5] But Sir Azizul in making the estimate did not, unlike the Bengal Banking Committee, deduct the value of the home-grown rice from the total annual expenses incurred by the average cultivator family ; but the number of agricultural families in Bengal that he took into account was appreciably smaller than that assumed by the Bengal Banking Committee, for, whereas, according to the Committee's estimate it

[1] *Vide* Article on "Co-operation" by V. R Pantulu in 'Economic Problems of Modern India,' p. 185, edited by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee.
[2] *Vide* Report of the Committee, p. 84.
[3] *Vide* Report, p. 69.
[4] *Vide* Report, p. 82.
[5] *Vide* The Man Behind the Plough, p. 155.

came to be six millions in all, as per Sir Azizul's estimate it was four millions only.[1]

Different other authorities have since given their estimates of the total short and intermedinate term loans required annually for the cultivators of Bengal as a whole. The following table shows this:

TABLE I

Estimate of short and Intermediate term credit (Bengal undivided).

Bengal Banking Committee Estimate	(1929)	Rs. 96	Crores.
Sir Azizul Huque's Estimate	(1938)	Rs. 60	,,
Famine Commission's Estimate	(1944)	Rs. 15	,, [2]
Bengal Govt.'s Crop Survey Estimate	(1945)	Rs. 81	,, [3]
Author's own Estimate	(1947)	Rs. 40-60	,, [4]

Agencies of Agricultural Finance—The Bengal Banking Committee stated that out of the estimated short and intermediate credit requirements (Rs. 96 crores), Rs. 4 crores were supplied by the Co-operative Societies, Rs. 2 crores by Loan Offices, and as no other financing agencies, including Commercial Banks, were undertaking the task of financing agriculture, it was presumed that for the remaining Rs. 90 crores, the cultivators had to turn to mahajans (money-lenders).

The Money-lender—The nature of business done by a money-lender in Bengal in the past and the stigma attaching to his business may be recapitulated here. It will be recalled that all the Provincial Banking Committees, as well as the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, were practically unanimous in the opinion that the private money-lender was an indispensable feature of Indian rural economy. With his local knowledge and experience and his elastic and simple methods of business, the mahajan was readily accessible by borrowers without much tangible asset. But most of the money-lenders developed the vicious practice of charging unconscionably high rates of compound interest, of perpetrating fraud on the illiterate borrowers and abusing their power over the debtors. As the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture has observed, "Money-lender does render a service but at too great (usurous) a price and his services are accom-

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Vide* Famine Commission Final Report, p. 460.
[3] *Vide*. Plot to Plot Enumeration, Part I, Bengal Govt. publication, p. 55.
[4] *Vide* Article by this writer in the Modern Review, May, 1948, p. 391.

panied by practices which result in great evils, *e.g.*, economic servitude, loss of rights in land"[1] and all this was possible for the uncontrolled powers of the money-lender who was often described as Shylock, the Jew, always intent on having his 'pound of flesh'. A practice was to obtain the debtor's signature on a piece of blank paper and have it duly attested: if he incurred the mahajan's displeasure, the screw was put on, and the blank paper was written up according to the sweet will of the creditor and the debtor was sued. Such a state of things was brought into lurid prominence in connection with cases actually disposed of by the Chandpur (District Comilla) Voluntary Debt Conciliation Boards.[2] Many other outstanding evidences on the mahajan's greed and inhuman rapacity were disclosed in connection with debates on the B.A.D. (Bengal Agricultural Debtors') Bill, 1935, in the Bengal Legislative Council and on the Money-Lenders' Act (1940) in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The existing Indian anti-Usury Laws, such as the Rule of Dandupat, the Bengal Regulation of 1780, the Indian Contract (Amendment) Act of 1899, the Usurious Loans (Amendment) Act of 1926, and, within the province itself, the Bengal Money-Lenders' Act, 1933,—all failed to check the usurious practices of the money-lender. The Bengal Money-Lenders' Act of 1940 is a more stringent measure and provides, *inter alia*; that (1) every money-lender must take out a licence authorising him to carry on money-lending business, (2) no money-lender can charge interest at rates higher than 10% simple on an unsecured loan or 8% simple on a secured loan, and (3) a loan is deemed to have been discharged by the payment of double the principal.

Up to 1945, about 5,000 licences were issued to money-lenders in Bengal, who were to keep regular account books.[3] But this is obviously too small a figure for a big province like pre-partition Bengal where the actual number of underground money-lenders, practising illegal transactions, though unknown, must have been far larger. This is based on personal experiences of this writer. Only a few professional money-lenders would agree to incur the expenses and suffer the harassment incidental to taking out licences. Consequently the number of licences issued is bound to be small. This is seen also from figures of licenses (in the following table) as issued in the district of Faridpur, where this writer carried out an intensive debt survey:

[1] *Vide* Report of the Commission, p. 433.
[2] *Vide* Proceedings of Bengal Legislative Council, Vol. XLVI, No. 2, 46th Session, 27th August, 1935
[3] *Vide* Famine Commission Final Report, p. 462.

TABLE 2

Licences issued to Money-lenders in Faridpur District up to 1945[1]

Sub-division	Licences issued	Licences renewed	
		No.	Date of renewal
Sadar	68	21	2 (1944) 19 (1945)
Madaripur	40	8	1945
Gopalganj	45	5	Do.
Goalundo	14	4	Do.
Total	167	38	

Sub-division	Year	No.	Sub-division	Year	No.
Sadar	1941	12	Madaripur	1941	8
	1942	13		1942	11
	1943	7		1943	2
	1944	8		1944	10
	1945	28		1945	9
	Total	68		Total	40

Sub-division	Year	No.	Sub-division	Year	No.
Gopalganj	1941	3	Goalundo	1941	3
	1942	19		1942	6
	1943	11		1943	4
	1944	5		1944	2
	1945	7		1945	3
	Total	45		Total	14

It may be observed that the restrictions imposed by the Money-Lenders' Act temporarily checkmated the greed and wily transactions

[1] Figures collected from the Faridpur Collectorate (Munshikhana)

N.B.—From 1941 to 1945 only 6 prosecution cases were made from Gopalganj Sub-Division—2 in 1942, 2 in 1943 and 2 in 1944. In all cases the accused money-lenders were acquitted.

by money-lenders; they stopped money-lending to a great deal and, therefore, the main and the only effective source of rural credit almost dried up. Of course, other forces were at work such as the operation of the Debt Settlement (D.S.) Boards; the war-time opportunities for newer avenues of investment; the more liberal scope of investment in land, in consequence of high prices of agricultural land and crops, etc., which helped to divert the money-lenders' capital along other channels. But as the war ended and therewith war-contracts and other similar opportunities of investment, and, also, as the D. S. Boards were gradually wound up since 1944 and as both official and non-official propaganda was carried on urging the money-lenders to open normal loan transactions with cultivators, the mahajans from 1945-46 onwards took a little courage and began to extend loans to very well-known and loyal borrowers. To-day when the licensing system under the Money-lenders' Act is still in force, a good deal of illegal unlicensed money-lending is taking place. But this is an open secret. Usury has abated considerably, but there are forms and methods of underground money-lending where unusually high rates become a common feature. But this is not the place to narrate the experiences gathered and facts collected by this writer.[1]

Loans advanced by Government:—The Government advances loans to agriculturists under the terms of two enabling Acts—The Land Improvement Loans Act, 1883, and the Agriculturists' Loans Act, 1884. But the Bengal Banking Committee has characterised the Land Improvement Loans Act as a "dead letter," inoperative because of delay in granting loans and the rigid conditions enforced for its repayment.[2] The Agriculturists' Loans Act was likewise held to be almost a dead letter by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture.[3] The Central Banking Enquiry Committee has illustrated with figures "the very insignificant part played by Government in the matter of supplying rural finance" under the said Acts. Governmental apathy is also proved by figures of loan granted regionally by Government under these Acts in Faridpur district as in the following table:

[1] *Vide* this writer's book written in Bengali entitled "Banglar Krishak": The Bengalee Peasant.

[2] *Vide* Bengal Banking Report, p. 90.

[3] *Vide* Report of the Commission, p. 430.

TABLE 3

Loans advanced by Government to Cultivators—District Faridpur.[1]

Year	Under Land Improvement Loans Act, 1883.	Under Agriculturists' Loans Act, 1884.	Year.	Under Land Improvement Loans Act, 1883.	Under Agriculturists' Loans Act, 1884.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
1892-93	...	...	1934-35	3110	69372
1893-94	...	22753	1935-36	2606	58035
1894-95	...	5000	1936-37	5356	36715
1895-96	...	...	1937-38	4974	8804
1896-97	...	950	1938-39	4893	1685
1897-98	...	13630	1939-40	4684	661441
1898-99	200	...	1940-41	2823	651256
1899-1900.	400	1190	1941-42	?	?
1900-1901	...	...	1942-43	...	665000 (4) 75000 (1)
1901-1902	700	...			
			1943-44	...	288530
			1944-45	...	202746
			1945-46	..	*Nil*

Co-operative Movements:—The Co-operative movement, since its inception in this land, has been looked upon as the panacea for all economic maladjustments in the rural areas. Specially, in the sphere of agricultural credit, great interest was evinced and high hopes revived, both in official and non-official circles, after the publication of the masterly report of the Maclagan Committee on the progress of the movement. We shall not enter here into the early history of the movement or its failures and difficulties in the years of depression.[2] We shall content ourselves by showing the nature of progress

[1] Figures for 1892-93 to 1901-02 are compiled from Faridpur District Gazetteer : figures for 1934-35 to 1941 42 are compiled from Land Revenue Administration Reports, Bengal Govt. and figures for 1943-44 to 1945-46 are compiled from Faridpur District Collectorate (Munshikhana).

(1) The figure refers to Agricultural loan (2) 'Grow More Food' loan.

N.B.—Advances made since 1942-43 must be viewed against the back-ground of Famine and famine relief. The meagreness of the advances will have to be judged relatively to the total agricultural population of the district which was 1,635,784 in 1931 and 20,85,712 in 1941, excluding rent receiving land owners in both the years whose number was 1.63 lakh and 2.02 lakhs respectively.

[2] An able exposition of the different aspects of the movement in Bengal up to 1935-36 will be found in Dr. J. P. Niyogi's "Co-operative Movement in Bengal."

made by rural credit Societies in Bengal in the post-depression period, as in the foot table :—

TABLE 4

Primary Agricultural Credit Societies (Unlimited Liability) in Bengal.[1]

Year.	No. of Societies.	No. of Members.	Loans made during the year to—		Loans due by—		
			Individuals (in Rs. 1000)	Banks and Societies (in Rs. 1000)	Individuals (in Rs. 1000)	Of which overdue (in Rs. 1000)	Banks and Societies (in Rs. 1000)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1935-36	19755	445079	2139	149	40183	32667	483
1936-37	19896	445554	2194	196	39539	34580	569
1937-38	19901	437103	1583	209	38312	34373	608
1938-39	26086	529283	2284	178	38305	34269	488
1939-40	32668	678705	4012	227	37035	32794	638
1940-41	35261	774205	4704	179	36277	33156	625
1941-42	36363	879376	4881	172	35191	92845	620
1942-43	36103	867251	3136	130	34133	30786	671

As appears from the table above, the amount of of short-term loan issued annually was (between 1938-39 and 1942-43) a little more than Rs. 88 lakhs on the average. The loans limited to Rs. 25 only per head and were advanced to meet seasonal needs of agriculturists. But in comparison with the amount (Rs. 40 to 60 crores) which it needed annually as short and intermediate-term loans, the annual average of Rs. 38 lakhs is an insignificant sum, not even one per cent of the aggregate annual credit requirements.

The meagreness of loans advanced is thus evident from Col. (4) of the above table. The position in 1942-43 became worse than in 1939-40. The overdue loan situation as shown in Col. (7) was all through really alarming. Up to 1941-42, a steady progress was maintained in respect of the number of societies and membership thereof.

[1] *Vide* Annual Reports on Co-operative Movement by Bengal Govt., the year ends on 30th June, next year.

But this apparent "Progress" must not be confused with an all round soundness of the movement. "It should be remembered," as the Famine Commission observes, "that a mere statement of numbers is liable to be misleading. Some societies 'flourish for a short time and then die an unnatural death'; many societies which live longer on paper have no real vitality. Among those which actually function, the standard of efficiency varies greatly."[1] The following table shows the number of societies which are regarded, as per Audit Classification, as being in a generally flourishing (Class A) and sound (Class B) condition or in an unsatisfactory (Class C) condition, or in conditions of utter stagnation (Classes D and E).

TABLE V.

Audit classification of Agricultural Societies in Bengal (undivided) (excluding grain banks and land mortgage banks)[2]

Year.	No. of Societies.	Class A (Thoroughly Good).	Class B (Fairly Good).	Class C (Average).	Class D (Bad).	Class E (Very Bad).	Under Probation.
1930-31	20129	136	721	12491	2319	1054	3408
1931-32	20159	95	475	13816	2889	1440	1444
1932-33	19976	62	389	14406	2708	1521	890
1933-34	19857	62	503	14179	2757	1676	680
1934-35	19769	46	397	13910	2787	1859	770
1935-36	19755	45	384	13693	2801	1995	837
1936-37	19896	36	375	13214	2935	2335	1001
1937-38	19901	35	374	12386	3094	2639	1373
1938-39	26086	37	315	12229	3367	3246	6892
1939-40	32668	29	332	12066	3703	3558	12980
1940-41	35261	23	306	15867	3931	3947	11187
1941-42	36363	21	235	20795	4122	4294	6896
1942-43	36109	16	215	22896	4267	4472	4253

The over-all unsoundness of the Co-operative movement in Bengal is also reflected in the rapid progress of liquidation of worthless societies, as shown in the table below:

[1] *Vide* Final Reports, p. 293.
[2] *Vide* Annual Reports, Govt. of Bengal.

TABLE VI.

Progress of Liquidation of Societies in Bengal.[1]

Year	No. liquidated during the year	No. whose liquidation proceedings closed.	No. of liquidation proceedings pending.	Total liquidated at end of the year.
1930-31	180	33	785	...
1931-32	178	25	938	...
1932-33	239	52	1125	...
1933-34	167	34	1289	...
1934-35	121	41	1369	...
1935-36	86	44	1411	...
1936-37	49	21	1439	...
1937-38	78	17	1500	...
1938-39	66	7	1559	...
1939-40	81	26	1614	1554
1940-41	110	51	?	1611
1941-42	115	95	?	1637
1942-43	230	45	?	1822

The Famine Commission observed that the "internal condition of the Co-operative Rural Credit movement is not at the moment flourishing."[2] This observation, however, does not serve to depict the actual picture of the said "internal condition." The Rowland Committee's description is more apt, when it says that the "movement in Bengal is at present at a low ebb."[3]

Debt concillation: A Phase in the Co-operative Movement in Bengal:—Truly speaking, ever since 1937 a rot set in the movement and a vicious circle was created in the following way: in the wake of the B. A. D. Act, private sources of credit became shy; members of societies applied for loan; but as there was meagre collection of the outstanding loans due from them, the money remained tied up; and, therefore, there was not money enough to be put back into circulation. Again, as deposits could not be paid back on

[1] *Vide* Annual Report, Govt. of Bengal.

[2] *Vide* Final Report, p. 460.

[3] *Vide* Report published in 1945, para 191, p. 53

maturity, fresh deposits could not be attracted, with the result that fresh capital for circulation as short loans became scarce. The problem, as stated by the then Minister in charge of the Co-operative Department of Bengal Government on the floor of Bengal Legislative Assembly on March 15, 1939, was (*a*) how to liquify the loans tied up with members and to liquidate the liabilities to depositors and (*b*) how to make seasonal short-term loans available to the Co-operative members again. It was felt that "any scheme for supplying future short-term credit must be accompanied by a scheme for reducing society-members' old debts to an amount within their repaying capacity."[1] A scheme of conciliation of debts of co-operators was, therefore, launched, and the progress attained up to June, 1942-43 will be seen from the Table below.

[1] *Vide* Speech by the Minister-in-Charge, quoted in Two Years of Provincial Autonomy, page 131.

TABLE VII

Conciliation of Debts of Co-operative Members *

Year	No. of special Coop. D.S. Boards	Applications filed by		Applications		No. of cases		For all claims settled (in lakhs Rs.)—					
		Creditors	Debtors	Disposed of	Dismissed	Settled	Pending	Creditor's claim		Debt determined u/sec. 18		Amount awarded	
								Coop.	Other.	Coop	Other.	Coop.	Other.
1940-41 †	106	9588	35480	13786	4676	7062	36858	17.61	24.99	14.36	15.44	12.54	10.24
1941-42	206	12273	28967	30556	4899	16858	40068	49.43	78.76	40.29	39.92	34.65	26.38
1942-43	206	14732	29556	33664	5026	21012	31237	54.76	84.09	43.29	45.43	36.84	30.63

* *Vide* Annual Reports for 1940-41 to 1942-43.

† Revised figures.

THE VEDIC SARASVATĪ

B. R. SHARMA

Sarasvatī is an Indo-Iranian river, since her correlative, Haraihvāti is found in the Avesta. The tiny stream now known under that name in the Punjab is only a later identification of the Indian Aryans. The highly eulogized and graphically described Sarasvatī is undoubtedly not this insignificant stream. The epithets such as:—'uttarā Sakhibhyaḥ' (vii, 96.1), the mighty or most divine among the rivers, 'bṛhad-divā' (v. 42. 12), brilliantly shining'[1] 'Sindhubhiḥ pinvamānā (VI. 52.6), swelling with rivers, 'Sindhumātā' (VII. 36.6) mother of floods or rivers, 'marutvatī' (II. 30.8) associated the Maruts,[2] 'ambitamā' best of mothers, 'nadī-tamā' best of rivers, 'devī-tamā' best of goddesses (II.41.16), 'ghorā' terrible, 'hiraṇyavartaniḥ' (VI.61.7) having golden path, and 'pavī-ravī' (VI.49.7) lightning's child—attributed to her hardly agree with the present famished Sarasvatī that loses herself in the desert long before reaching the ocean. There are clear indications that the Sarasvatī dashing against the mountains with her roaring current reaches the ocean (VII.95.2).[3] She is significantly described as 'prabābadhānā rathyéva yāti viśvā apo mahinā sindhur-asyaḥ' (VII.95.1) 'the river flows on as an array of chariots surpassing all other waters,' 'yasyā ananto ahrutas tveṣaś cariṣṇur arṇavaḥ amaścarati roruvat (VI.61.8)' whose limitless unbroken flood, swift-moving with a rapid rush comes forth with tempestuous roar—a description which is hardly applicable to the poor Sarasvatī of the Punjab. Scholars,[4] therefore, identify her generally with the Indus which appropriately answers this description.

K. C. Chattopadhyay in his lengthy paper on this problem[5] comes to the conclusion that in the earlier portions of the Ṛgveda

[1] Sāyaṇa has explained the word as 'bṛhatī devā dīptir yasyāḥ (X.64.10) and also as 'prabhūta-dīptiḥ' (V.42.17). It is obviously an adjective of Sarasvatī but Griffith wrongly presumes that Sāyaṇa has taken it as an epithet of Rākā'. It may also mean 'coming from high heaven' (*cf.* 'ano divo bṛhataḥ parvatād ā Sarasvatī' (V.43.11). Griffith thinks that 'bṛhad-divā' is an independent deity.

[2] Cp. 'marut-Sakhā' (VII.96.2).

[3] 'ekā-cetat Sarasvatī nadīnām śucir-yatī giribhya ā samudrāt'

[4] Zimmer. Altind. Leben., p. 10; RPV., p, 173; Grassmann, Wörterbuch, Roth (Geldner RV. in Answahl, p. 116).

[5] 'Ṛgvedic River Sarasvatī' Journal of the Department of Letters. Vol. XV. Calcutta.

(particularly in Maṇḍalas (VI and VII) Sarasvatī means the Indus and in other passages the little stream now known by that name. He says that the Indus was once called by the name Sarasvatī and occasionally by 'Sindhu'. But later when the little stream in Madhya-deśa also came to be known as Sarasvatī, with a view to distinguishing the Indus from this Sarasvatī the latter was called the eastern Sarasvatī. He cites a Śloka in support of this idea, quoted in a Gujrāti magazine[1] and also refers to St. Petersburg Dictionary where it is stated that the Sarasvatī did often have the adjective 'pūrvā' or 'Prācī'.[2] Chattopadhyaya in order to prove that the Sarasvatī is absolutely a terrestrial river, *i.e.*, the Indus (of course he does not anywhere in his paper either acknowledge or refer to her celestial analogue; probably it did not strike him at all) makes Sarasvān, the spouse of the Sarasvatī, too, a terrestrial god. He refutes the statement of the Naighaṇṭuka that the Sarasvān is 'a god of middle region' and disagrees with Sāyaṇa who supports the Nighaṇṭu. According to the opinion of Chattopadhyaya, Sarasvān represents the lower part of the river Sarasvatī (=Indus) after the kubhā (with Suvāstū), the Krumu and other tributaries of the Indus had joined her. In suppport of his argument that the same stream is called by masculine and feminine terms in different regions he cites the custom still prevailing in the Panjab calling the two main branches of the Chandrabhāgā river at its head streams by 'Chandra' and 'Bhagā' and refers to Tungā and Bhadrā, the two main branches of the Tungabhadrā river and to Maru and Wārdvan of the Ṛgvedic Marudvṛdhā.[3] In his overenthusiasm to prove his new theory he seems to have overlooked that, in the present instance, there are no two main streams of the Indus called Sarasvān and Sarasvatī which later join together to form a single stream as the analogies of Chandrabhāgā, Tungabhadrā and Marudvṛdhā would lead one to expect. This opinion that the narrow river erstwhile called Sarasvatī was styled as Sarasvān after it had been swollen by the tributaries, has no supporting evidence whatsoever. Further, his argument against the godhood of Sarasvān is against the unequivocal evidence of RV.I.164.2 which he himself appears to admit.[4] He states that the Ṛgveda (X.66.5) does not refer to Sarasvān as a mid-

[1] "Gujarāt for Āśvin, 1979 (Saṃvat) "Rudrāvarte kurukṣetre śrīsthale puṣkare'pi ca. prabhāse pañcame tīrthe panca prācī Sarasvatī."

[2] See pp. 42-43. JDL. Vol. XV.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20, *Vide* also Sir M. A. Stein's paper 'River names in the Ṛgveda' in the Bhandarkar Comm. Vol, p. 24.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 18, n.1.

air deity. But the very fact that he has been invoked in conjunctions with the great celestial gods, such as Varuṇa, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu and others prove the fact that he too is a celestial god. Chattopadhyaya fears that "if Sarasvān is classed with Vāyu and other gods of the middle region Sarasvatī too is so called." Strange logic indeed! "As Sarasvatī in VII.95 and VII.96," he continues, "is a river and not a Madhyasthāna devatā Sarasvān too of the same hymns should not belong to the middle region." [1]

But in the hymns referred to above Sarasvatī is more of a celestial character than the terrestrial. She is described in VII.95 as "flowing rapidly with (all) sustaining water . . ., sweeping away in its might all other waters (1)", "flowing through the mountains up to the ocean distributing riches to the vast or whole world ('bhuvanasya bhūreḥ) (4)." As stated above, since this description does not agree with the little stream of the Sarasvatī, Scholars [2] apply it to the Indus. But even the Indus identification is untenable for though the description on the first verse may very well agree with the Indus, that in the second verse definitely does not. The Indus cannot distribute the riches to the people of the whole world. Finding that the modern Sarasvatī does not reach the sea, and that in the second verse [3] it is expressly mentioned that she does reach the sea, some Scholars [4] doubted whether Sarasvatī in this hymn stands for a river at all.

In VII.95.6 Vasiṣṭha is said to have unbarred the two doors (east and west) of Ṛta, "the sacred and actual light world of the vedas" [5] for Sarasvatī. This, beyond a shadow of doubt, indicates that the Sarasvatī mentioned here is the celestial river which Vasiṣṭha (Sun) sent forth by opening the doors of Ṛta. The celestial streams when

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 18-19.

[2] VM. p. 87.

[3] "ekā cetat Sarasvatī nadīnām śucir yatī giribhya ā samudrāt" (VII 95.2).

[4] See OST. Vol. II. p. 346. N. Langlois. Vol. III, p. 241, Notes 13, thinks that Sarasvatī in this hymn stands, not for a river but for 'the goddess of Sacrifice' with her libations. "These libations form a river, which flows from the mountains, where the sacrifice is performed, and where the Soma plant is collected. This river flows into Samudra (Sea) which is the vessel destined to receive the libations."

[5] A. K. Coomaraswamy interprets Ṛta in this sense. He observes; 'In RV.X.67.4 where Bṛhaspati is said to drive forth "the hidden kine standing on the bridge of chaos" (anṛtasya setau), the bridge is evidently so called with respect to its "darkened" whence the procession of light is initiated, anṛta characterising the unordered, indiscriminate, potential and dark world of Asuras; Ṛta the ordered, and actual light world of Devas" See the Ṛgveda as Land-Nama—Bok' N. 28. If we may accept this meaning (which suits well purpose here) the meaning of the passage will be, "Vaśiṣṭha set open the two doors of the light world, *i.e.* heaven, for the Sarasvatī (to flow forth from her confinement in the nether region)." Further Vaśiṣṭha may be taken to mean the Sun, and the word is interpreted in this sense by Vedic Scholars in several contexts.

released from their nether stone-house, flow forth through the eastern passages and mount up the heaven. After travelling through the upper region, they again enter the nether ocean through the western passages. The doors that Vasiṣṭha is said to have opened are these eastern and western passages and when they are opened, the waters flow forth unhindered. Further, she is addressed as 'Śubhre' (VII.95.6), 'the bright one'—a common epithet attributed to the celestial waters —and is called 'Vṛtraghnī' (also she is said to be engaged in the Vṛtra-tūrya (VI.61.5) 'Hiraṇya-Vartaniḥ' 'flowing on the golden path' (VI.67), 'Trīṣadhasthā' 'residing in the three regions. and 'Pancajātā vardhayantī' prosperer of Panca-janas (VI.61.12). The verse VII.96.1 clearly says that she is both in heaven and earth [1] (rodasī) and the adjective "Asuryā nadīnām' undoubtedly refers to her celestial character. In both these hymns (VII, 95 and 96) she is invoked for opulence and food, is offered oblations. This shows that the bard in these hymns describes rather a divine Sarasvatī than an earthly one. The term Sarasvatī just as Sindhu, is listed among the synonymns of rivers in the Nighaṇṭu. So it may have originally meant only 'a celestial flood' which afterwards applied to a particular stream.

Chattopadhyaya, finding that 'Driṣadhasthā' does not suit the tiny Sarasvatī of the Punjab, takes it as an additional evidence in support of his theory identifying the Sarasvatī with the Indus. He says: "This probably means that it flows through heaven, earth, and the middle region. It is difficult to see how a tiny Stream like Sarasvatī can be given this proud title. But 'Triṣadhasthā' is easily intelligible in the case of the Indus whose origin is in regions where no man (=Aryan) has penetrated, which has run through mountains for hundreds of miles and then taken a level course." [2] Chattopadhyaya with a strong preconceived notion, takes up the stand, that the Sarasvatī in the earlier portions of the Ṛgveda is the Indus, and tries to overlook the obvious and express meaning of the words and passages which prove, beyond any doubt, her undeniable celestial character. The Ganges is also called in the post-Vedic literature 'Tripathagā, flowing in three patlīs, because she flowed in the three regions, *i.e.*, celestial, terrestrial and nether. Triṣadhasthā also denotes exactly the same meaning in the Vedas as Tripathagā in the post-Vedic

[1] 'Sarasvati-n-naābhayā suvṛktibhiḥ stomair Vaśiṣṭha rodasī' which Wilson translates: 'Worship Vaśiṣṭha, who well selected praises, Sarasvatī, who is both in heaven and earth.'

[2] JDL, vol. XV., p. 12.

literature. It is worth noticing in this connection that the AU. VI. 100. 1 clearly refers to three Sarasvatīs, obviously the Sarasvatīs of the three regions.

Further, the epithet 'Panca-jātā vardhayantī' does not prove her terrestrial character in any way. The Pancajanas cannot be said to be the five human tribes. Sāyaṇa interprets the term 'Niṣāda-pancamāṁ-ścaturo varṇān Gandharvādīn vā'-'four castes with Niṣāda as the fifth caste, or the Gandharvas etc.' They are invoked and offered libations and are called 'Yajñiyāsaḥ' 'worthy of sacrificial worship' (X. 53. 4; 5) and 'daivya-jana', 'heavenly people' (X. 53. 6). In X. 60. 4 it is clearly mentioned that they reside in the heaven.[1] In his book 'The Ṛgveda as Land-Náma-bók' A. K. Coomaraswamy rightly obeserves:—"in any case the Ṛgveda provides us with texts amply sufficient to prove that the five kindreds which participate in the First Sacrifice are classes or categories of divine beings or principles, ancestors indeed of humanity, but not yet human in a biological sense."[2] R. Shama Shastri takes them to be five minor planets[3] which again means that he has also acknowledged their celestial character. Therefore, the epithet 'panca-jātā vardhayantī' instead of helping to prove the Sarasvatī to be a terrestrial river, supports the idea that she is a celestial stream. Moreover, the verses V. 43. 11 and VI. 61. 11[4] prove beyond any doubt that Ṛgveda acknowledges her celestial character in an unambiguous manner. In the first verse (V. 43. 11) the Sarasvatī is invoked to come down to the sacrifice from the high heaven through the mountain, and in the second (VI. 61. 11) she is represented as pervading the terrestrial region and the wide mid-air as well. How is this possible in the case of the Indus which is supposed to be identical with the Sarasvatī?

There is no warrant for the assumption that in the earlier portion of the Ṛgveda the Sarasvatī meant the Indus. In the hymns where the Sarasvatī is celebrated we do not get any hint for this assumption. In only one verse (VII. 95. 1) among all the hymns the term Sindhu occurs, and that too not as a proper noun. The verse is: "prakṣodasā dhāyasā sasra eṣā Sarasvatī dharúṇam āyasī pūḥ. Prabābadhānā rathyéva yāti viśvā apó mahinā Sindhur-anyāḥ."

[1] 'divīva pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ.'
[2] Pp. 8-9.
[3] PO., vol. 7., p. 27.
[4] "ā no divó bṛhataḥ parvatād ā Sarasvatī yajatā gantu yajñam . . ." (V. 43. 11) "ā-paprāṣīḥ pārthivāny-uru rajo antarikṣam . . ." (VI. 61. 11).

It is quite clear that 'Sindhu' is used here only in the ordinary meaning 'river', referring to the Sarasvatī of the previous sentence.[1] If the words Sarasvatī and Sindhu were synonymous, we ought to have found the use of the words as such in the hymns dedicated to these rivers. But we do not come across even a single instance where these terms have been exchanged. In the verse quoted above any other synonym of river will hold good in the place of Sindhu and it is only by accident and not with any special significance, that Sindhu is used here. Further it does not stand to reason that the Sarasvatī which is not far away from the Indus was unknown to the adventurous vedic Aryans and to assume that they believed the Sindhu to be identical with the Sarasvatī.

A curious argument put forward by Chattopadhyaya is that the description of the Indus in X. 75 and that of the Sarasvatī found in the other hymns and passages closely agree. We may find in Ṛgveda the description of several deities closely resembling to one another. Still we do regard them as separate entities and never as identical. If we have to accept Chattopadhyaya's argument we can take many a deity as identical on the same basis and reduce the number of gods of vedic pantheon to a considerable extent. It should be noted that that is a common feature of the Vedas to magnify gods in the same style of panegyric. It is worth quoting the remarks of Max Müller about this practise of the Vedic bards. He observes: "Each god is to the mind of the supplicant as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity,—as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. "Among you, O Gods, there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great indeed," is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old (Rv. 1.27.13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods

[1] Geldner says: 'Die Sarasvatī hiest in d Sindhu d. h. wohl allgemein storm." Roth identifiziest " nách stellen wie dieser die Sarasvatī des RV. mit dem Indus," RV. in Answahl, p. 116. Oldenberg clearly says that 'Sindhu' is the appellation of 'Sarasvatī' here. RVN. p. 63.

represented as the slave of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute [1]. Therefore, it is no wonder, if the descriptions of two great streams closely agree. But it is wrong to assume on this basis, that the descriptions refer to the same streams. However, he agrees that in the later portions of Ṛgveda the Sindhu and the Sarasvatī are distinctly different rivers as he could not overlook the express evidences proving them as separate streams (see X.64.9; X.75).

Max Müller, taking into account the striking difference that appears between the Vedic Sarasvatī and the modern Sarasvatī, assumes that the old Sarasvatī reached in its course the Indian Sea, either by itself or united with the Indus. He remarks: "The Vedic *Ṛshis*, though acquainted with numerous rivers including the Indus and the Ganges, call the Sarasvatī the mother of rivers (VII. 36.6, Sarasvatī Saptati Sindhumātā), the strongest rivers (VI. 61.13, apasām apah-lamā), and in our passage VII. 95.2, we have, as far as I can judge conclusive evidence that the old Sarasvatī reached in its course the Indian sea, either by itself, or united with the Indus"[2] Hopkins believes that the Arghandāb on which is Kandahar, was the original Sarasvatī, the name of which he thinks, is transferred is a new river, later by the migrating Aryans[3].

In the verse VI. 61.2 the epithet 'pāravataghni' is worth noticing. Macdonell and Keith take 'pārāvata' to mean the people living on the Zamunā[4]. The word is derived from 'parāvat' meaning 'distance' or distant or farther region. It is generally contrasted in the Ṛgveda with 'arrāvat', meaning this or near region, *e.g.*, in III. 37.11. Śakra is asked to come over either from 'arvāvat' or from 'parāvat' wherever

[1] HASLit, pp. 532-33.—J. Muir also remarks : "All these texts, however, which are so laudatory of Indra, may be paralleled in the Rgveda, not only by similar ones referring to Mitra ahd Varuṇa (as we have seen above), but also by a farther set of texts, in which other gods are magnified in the same style of panegyric. This is in accordance with the practice of the Indian poets to exaggerate (in a manner which renders them often mutually inconsistent) the attributes of the particular deity who happens at the moment to be the object of celebration." 'The Vedic Theogony and Mythology', JRAS., 1865. Vol. I, p. 107

[2] VH. SBE, 32, Pt. I, p. 61.

[3] RI., p. 31. 'The Sarasvatī river the name of which is transferred at least once in historical times, may have been originally one with the Arghandabād (on which is Kandahar), for the Persian name of the river (s becomes h) is Harahvati (Arachotos, Ararachosia), and it is possible that it was really this river, and not the Indus which was first lan led as the Sarasvatī. In that case there would be a perfect parallel to what has probably happened in the case of the Rasā, the name—in both cases meaning only 'the stream' (like Rhine Arno etc.)—being transferred to a new river".

[4] VI, Vol. 1, p. 519.

he may be. Asvins also are similarly requested to come down (to the sacrifice) whether they are in parāvat or arrāvat or in the firmament (V. 73.1). In VIII. 8.14 parāvat is contrasted with 'ambara', and parāvat and avastāt are used to convey the same contrasting idea respectively (VIII. 55.6, III. 22.3). Indra is said to have killed Namuc in 'parāvati' (I. 53.7) and the Vedic bard asks the suppliants to proclaim in their assemblies the deeds new and ancient achieved by the vṛtrahan in parāvat (VIII, 45.25). Further Śakra is spoken of as delaying in the 'parāvati Samudre (VIII. 12.17).

The sun is also said to come from parāvat in I. 35.3, and in the previous verse he is described as moving through the dark region (kṛṣṇena rajasā) and coming up to the living world. To denote these two regions, dark and bright, a single term found in Ṛgveda is 'Samudram' (X. 136.5) or 'rajasi' (VI. 9.1). From these, it is clear, that parāvat or parastāt implies the distant region (*i.e.* the nether region) and arvāvat or avastat (and also 'ambara') the near region (*i.e.*, the upper region).

Thus 'pārāvata' which is derived from parāvat must mean relating or belonging to 'parāvat'. 'Parāvati Samudre' (VIII. 12.17) referred to above, means, therefore, 'in the ocean that is far away' or 'on the other side'. So 'pārāvata' naturally means 'the distant realm' (literally the realm that is on the other side) and the realm as we have seen above is the dark nether region. Hillebrandt, it seems, conjectures some connection between pārāvâta and parvata and suggests that pārāvatas were originally 'mountaineers'.[1] If we may accept this connection of pārāvata with parvata, the word may well mean the mountainous range by which the earth is supposed to have been surrounded, The Sarasvatī, is said to be coming ' bṛhataḥ parvatāt ' (V.43.11) ' giribhya ā Samudrāt ' (VII.95.2) and bursting forth with her strong waves the ridges of the hills.[2] In the Aban yaṣht (V.3.), the sacred river Ardvi Sūra Anāhita, the Iranian parallel of the Sarasvatī, who is worshipped and offered libations, is described as running powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vouru-Kasha. Therefore, pārāvata may well mean the distant mountainous range through which the Sun dawns and waters come upward. In Bundahish XX.4, it is said: " Just as the light comes in through Albūrz (Hara Berazaiti, the mountain by which the earth is surrounded) and goes out through Albūrz, the water also comes out through Albūrz and goes away through Albūrz."[3] . So pārāvataghnī may mean ' dashing

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] ' Sānu girīṇām taviṣebhir ūrmibhiḥ.' (VI.61.2).

[3] See Tilak, AHV, p. 266.

against the distant mountains or the distant realm.' Yāska comments on 'pārāvataghnim' as 'pārāvāra-ghātinīm' and the commentator Durgācārya explains it as 'param cāvaram ca ubhe api hanti'—'dashing against both (farther and nearer) the banks.'[1] J. Muir also interprets it as "(Sarasvatī) who sweeps away her banks,"[2] and in the note below he says: "This interpretation is condemned in B. and R.'s Lexicon, S.V., where the sense is said to be, either (*a*) "Striking the distant (demon)," or (*b*) "Striking from or at a distance." Thus we do not find any support for the view accepted by some western scholars that 'pārāvata' means 'the people living on the Yamunā'[3] and also we cannot overlook or reject the obvious meaning of the term pārāvata, *viz.*, the distant region.[4]

Though generally Sarasvatī represents the celestial stream in Ṛgveda, I do not mean that no reference to her earthly analogue is found in the Vedas. Sacrifices were performed on her banks, the place around her was regarded as most sacred for this purpose. In the hymns and passages where Sarasvatī is celebrated, sometimes the Vedic bards refer to this earthly river too. In III.23.4 and some other verses Sarasvatī seems to refer to the Sarasvatī of the Panjab.

SARASVATĪ AS A DEITY

Sarasvatī is said to be the consort of the Aśvins (VS. 19.94) and she is invoked to be gracious to the suppliants (AV.XIX.11.2). She is born of the Vīrya or seed of Indra (TB.1.8.2.5) and is accredited with having made water to flow for men[5] (RV.VI.61.3). She is associated with Pūṣan, Indra, the Maruts and the Aśvins, and invoked with these deities.[6] In the Brāhmaṇas (ŚB.3.9.17; AB.3.1.10, VM, p. 87) She is identified with vāc, speech and in post-vedic literature She is a regular divinity of eloquence and wisdom.[6]

[1] Nir. II. 24.

[2] OST. Vol. II., p. 346.

[3] Grassmann after giving the plain meaning of the term says that it is also the name of a tribe. He glosses 'pārāvataghnī' as 'die entfernter (Fienden, Dämonen) Schlagend. Wöterbuch, p. 807, and he renders 'Pārāvata' as 'distant fiend' in his translations of RV. See Pt. I., p. 269. Ludwig also takes it to mean the folk of that name. Der Rigveda Pt. I., p. 185.

[4] Vide AHV. pp. 261-273.

[5] 'Viṣam ebhyo asravo vājinīvati' 'Viṣam' in this passage means 'water' and the word is listed among the synonyms of water in the Nighaṇṭu (Nir. II.24.12).

[6] VM. p. 87.

References

AHV.	Arctic Home in the Vedas by B. G. Tilak.
OŚT.	Original Sanskrit Text by J. Muir.
Altind Leben	Altindische Leben, die cultur der Vedischen arier by Zimmer Henrnich.
JWL.	Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta.
JRAS.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
HASLit	History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, by Max Müller.
PO.	Poona Orientalist, Poona.
RI.	Religion of India, by E. W. Hopkins.
RPV.	Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads by A. B. Keith.
RVN	Rgveda-Text Kritische und exegetische Noten by Hermann Oldenberg.
SBE	Sacred Books of the east.
VM.	Vedic Mythology by A.A. Macdonell.
VJ.	Vedic Index of Names and Subjects by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith.
VH.	Vedic Hymns.

FREUD'S PSYCHOLOGY OF PHILOSOPHY*

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Freud would be the last person to desire a place among philosophers. Both in his methodology and objective Freud differs from the philosopher. To emancipate psychology from the fetters of philosophy was his life-long aspiration and endeavour. He wrote much upon the values of the higher psychism-Religion, Ethics, Art and Philosophy and these realms lie so close to philosophy, that whether Freud willed it or not, he was drawn perforce to this subject on intermittent occasions. Besides, he did not hesitate to subject it to psychoanalytical vivisection and to soar up to the dizzy heights of speculative metaphysics. He had to traverse the arid zones of logic and epistemology too. He even confronts Immanuel Kant, the critical philosopher, disagrees or agrees with him as the occasion demands. This shows that Freud had a philosophical back-ground behind his psychoanalytical approach, for it is with a philosophy that one can contest a philosopher. There is nothing to wonder at this, for the philosopher is not a special species of mankind. His universe is not so bizarre as to be sundered from that of specialists in the fields of science. Many eminent scientists-physicists, biologists, mathematicians and psychologists have their philosophy too. So Freud may have and practically has a philosophy. As Dalbiez says, "scattered throughout the works of Freud we may trace the outlines of an unconscious psychological philosophy." (Psychoanalytical Method and the Doctrine of Freud, Vol. II).

But the present work does not aim at unfolding the implicit philosophy underlying Freud's psychoanalysis. It aims, on the other hand, at a critical exposition of Freud's psychology of philosophy. It aims at laying bare the psychological mechanism, that, according to Freud, operates behind the general philosophical outlook on reality and subsequently testing whether the philosophy that is thus analysed, is appropriately conceived or not. What is to be deeply regretted is that Freud, throughout his analysis of the philosopher's attitude or that of the religious, the moralist or the artist, did seek

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no cooperation with those whom he dissected or analysed. So far as Art is concerned, he produced an excellent volume interpreting a protrait left by Leonardo da Vinci. In Religion he worked upon the life-records of Moses, Christ or Mahommad. In Ethics and philosophy he took into account the Critique of Practical Reason by Kant. But, so far as his analysis is concerned, he never relies upon the second-hand records or other representations of his patients. Here he treats first-hand every individual patient assiduously, and with untiring zeal, dives deep into the inmost recesses of his mind by means of 'Depth Psychology' leaves little to surmise, provides himself with direct psychological data and then proceeds upon making generalisations. It is just the reverse that he does with reference to the above values of higher mental life. As a matter of fact, Freud's generalisations upon them lose much value and importance for this rough and ready manner of handling. He should have made contact with living philosophers, saints and moralists, psychoanalysed them and arrived at conclusions on the solid base-rock of facts. It is due to this negligence on his part that his treatment of these values is replete with pause, suspense and diffirence.

Freud's first clear statement about the psychoanalytical basis of philosophy dates back to his 'Totem and Taboo' in 1913. Towards the end of the chapter on "Taboo and ambivalence of emotions," Freud guesses the "relation between indiviual forms of the neurosis and the creations of culture" and points out "in what respect the study of the psychology of the neurosis is important for the understanding of the development culture". Again, he says, "the neurosis show a striking and far-reaching correspondence with the great social productions of art, religion and philosophy while, again, they seem like distortions of them." Freud, however, does not stop at this stage. He sets upon defining the particular type of neurotic or psychic disorder that corresponds to each of the cultural creations, viz., art, religion, and philosophy. He continues, "we may say that hysteria is a caricature of an artistic creation, a compulsion neurosis, a caricature of a religion, and a paranoiac delusion a caricature of a philosophic system." (page 105). Brill explations the above statement of Freud. The neuroses are a-social in nature. "They accomplish privately what society has produced in ages through collective effort . . . . . Hence the systems of religion, art and philosophy by which we now live are basically of the same origin as the neurosis." (Freud's contributions to Psychiatry-pages 182-183).

It is striking that from this formula of reduction or simplifica-

tion Ethics is omitted. Freud, however, gives abroad hint at the origin of Ethics from Totemism and hence indirectly from compulsion neurosis. Again, it is to be noted that while Freud drew a one-to-one correspondence beween religion and compulsion neurosis comparing the stages of development of each, he left the analogy of art and hysteria on the one hand, and that of philosophy and paranoiac delusion on the other as a bare statement of the fact (Moses and Monotheism). The reason is that Freud attached more importance to the exposure of religion than either to that of art or philosophy. He regards art as harmless and benificent. Art does not seek to be any thing but an illusion and it does not dare to make any attack on reality. Religion, on the other hand, is a serious enemy of reality. It sways the passions of mankind, threatens to usurp the place of science and builds up a "weltanschauung" of incomparable consistency and coherence (New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis).

The position accorded by Freud to philosophy is midway between art and religion. The extent of harm done and the amount of influence exerted by it are more than those of art, while less than those of religion, because it does not reach the majority of mankind and "interests only a small number of the thin upper stratum of intellectuals" (*Ibid*).

Philosophy claims to be a science. This claim is partly justified while partly unjustified. "It parts company with science, in that it clings to the illusion that it can produce a complete and coherent picture of the universe." This confidence in its ability to give a finished and consistent system is an illusion, because every addition to scientific knowledge unsettles the settled universe of philosophy. Philosophy cries halt to the onward march of reality and distorts the mobile stream of events by static representations. So, when philosophy claim to be a science of reality, it amounts to a practical falsification of reality. Thus while science deals with reality itself, philosophy deals with a misrepresentation of reality. Again, philosophy differs from science not merely in its object but in its method as well. In Freud's own language, "its methodological error lies in the fact that it over-estimates the epistemological value of our logical operations, and to a certain extent admits the validity of other sources of knowledge, such as intuition".

Thus there is no science of philosophy. Although philosophy must not interfere with the sciences, the latter have every right to investigate into the former. The reason is that truth which consists in the correspondence of our knowledge with the external world, is attainable only

by science, for there are no degrees in truth. "Truth", again "cannot be tolerant, and cannot admit compromise or limitations.' '(*Ibid*).

Side by side with this notion of philosophy, Freud is conscious of his incompetence in the subject. "I have already attemted to give a general characterization of philosophy and its methods, and I believe I am more unfitted than almost anyone to pass the individual systems under review." He at the same time does not omit to mention that philosophical systems venture to draw a picture of the world with the eyes turned away from it. Again, he refers to two phenomena which cannot be ignored. The first is intellectual nihilism or anarchism which denies knowledge of the external world, questions the truth of science and regards it as an illusion. Scientific truth also arises from our own needs and desires. "We find only what we need to find and see only what we desire to see". Freud criticises anarchism as self-contradictory and hence suicidal. He also marvels at the possible line of reasoning by which one can arrive at this position and for exploring it he implores the help of the epistemologist. The second is marxism, known as Dialectical materialism. For its methodology it depends upon Hegelian Dialectic which Freud considers as incomprehensible. He comments upon this school of philosphy that mere economic factors cannot account for human behaviour in society which must take cognizance of psychological factors as well, for we are concerned here with the reaction of living human beings. He condemns the practical counterpart of Marxism, viz., Russian Bolshevism as retrograde in character, for it bans independent thought and takes the place of the Bible or the Koran by virtue of its inexorableness.

Freud's references to philosophy are scattered throughout his work. In his Introductory Lectures he reminds the philosopher that he has so far been unable to solve the relation between body and mind (page 15). Ernest Jones also describes this as the central problem of philosophy (Collected Papers on Psychoanalysis—pages196 and 203). Again, Freud complains how Wundt and other philosophers have not achieved anything in their account of dreams save their points of divergence from waking life. Philosophers merely point out the lack of any connection in the associations of dream contents and the suspense of the critical faculty (Ibid, page 7o). He also regrets that philosophy, far from being humble for its failure in solving the puzzles of dream-life, reproaches the subject of dreams as intellectually contemptible (*Ibid*, page 80).

Freud's interpretation of dreams involves him into the metaphysical problems of causality, space, time, etc., and the logical problems of

image, concept, relation, negation, etc. The dream consists of images. It has to express the categories of space, time and causation, on the one hand, and relation, negation and contradiction, etc., on the other, through imaginal representations. Time is relegated to a secondary position, while a primary status is accorded to space. It is doubtful whether time can be represented through images. Relation is reduced to spatial contiguity. Negation, contradiction and opposition are pure relations incapable of being imaginally represented. Dream takes no account of the word "No" and makes combination out of contraries. Contrariety is represented through inversion of materials. Freud, however, approaches these problems scientifically but is led into the forbidden lands of metaphysics and logic inspite of himself.

Apart from the fact that Freud has gone far beyond the practical field of psychology and actually fore-shadowed some type of philosophy, his levelling down philosophy to a projection of the mind upon the screen of reality and the subsequent confusion of this representation with truth is neither justifiable as a piece of argument nor warranted by facts. Freud, in his anxiety to throw philosphy into the pattern set for psychoanalysis, fits it in the frame of psychosis. But in this summary disposal of the subject he only betrays his confessed ignorance of philosophy. This he could avoid by keeping his mind open to it, instead of forcing it into his own way of thinking. His method is empirical and inductive. All his theories are supported by facts. But in his theory of philosphy he flies in the face of facts. Philosophy is not a blanket term to be disposed of by a hasty generalization. Its approaches and solutions are as many as the human mind is capable of. It varies from Pyrrhonic Nihilism to Hegelian Absolutism or from the Carvaka Materialism to the Vedantic Monism. In between these two extreme poles of thought innumerably different shades of opinion grade into each other. In passing the judgment, as he does, upon philosophy, that it is an illusion, Freud takes into account a type of philosophy which in the sphere of philosophy itself is looked down upon as perverted and invalid. Intellectual chivalry demands that Freud should face his enemy and not hit him in the back.

Philosphy systematises the contradictions of ordinary thought and builds up a 'Weltanschauung.' On what conceivable grounds can this aspiration be condemned? The removal of contradictions is certainly a scientist's aim, for science also strives after a coherent and consistent body of knowledge. Philosophy cannot be condemned as illusory, since it tries to carry this scientific aim to its completion. The philosopher's aspiration may not so far have been realised but end-

lessly extended to the vast expanse of the unknown. But neither can it be asserted that the dream of the scientist to obtain absolute mastery over nature has been realised. Again, philosophers differ among themselves, but similarly do scientists vary from each other. Who does not know the wide gulf that yawns between Freud and his erst-while lieutenants, Jung and Adler?

After all, the hostility between science and philosophy is not so bitter as Freud conceives. Science sprang out from the primitive mass of philosophical knowledge. Science is very young still, and this is why, as Freud says, Science has not been able as yet to make progress as could be expected. Specially young is psychology, a babe barely eighty years old. Its overconfidence and aggressiveness might be due to omnipotence of thought and oedipus complex or to masculine protest.

There is a mistake lurking in Freud's hostile attitude to philosophy. He recognizes the Law of Continuity as the corner-stone of psychoanalysis in that he refuses to see any rift in the ceaseless continuum of mental processes. But is this continuity to be confined to the realm of mind merely? Or, is it to be extended to the whole universal. Freud's biological orientation and his affiation to Darwin at once commit him to the second alternative. The world is an unbroken continuum, so that every event is continuous with and enters into another. The world, then, would constitute a unity. This necessitates the system-building activity of philosophy, for ultimate unification cannot be accomplished by any special science confined to its special field of enquiry. This is a new discipline taking stock of all scientific results healing their breaches and discovering the fundamental unity underlying and connecting them. It rises above the compartmental view of the different segments of nature. In this sense, as Marvin says, philosophy is the ambassador of peace —it is the greatest peace-maker.

Freud makes reason the dictator of life. In his profession Freud is an intellectualist, but in practice he expounds a psychology which is dominated by the affective and dynamic processes of mental life. But still does he insist upon reason as our sole guide. His over-emphasis upon the intellect, sometimes becomes so one-sided that he appears to be a rank rationalist. Reason is no doubt the guide but cannot dictate to sensations and impulses. Freud's reason tends to become form without content and in this respect he occasionally outdoes even Kant himself. As a matter of fact, however, Freud is not a rationalist nor is he an empiricist out and out. Pure

empiricism leads us to the denial of everything. So Freud combines in himself the empiric and the rationalistic standpoints, or as E. Jones says, inductive and the deductive.

Freud charges philosophy with the recognition of intuition and insinuates that it is mysticism. No entire system of knowledge can ignore intuition altogether. Freud also cannot dispense with intuition for one who frames hypothesis cannot but acknowledge that hypotheses are often suggested by the flash of imaginative insight which is a matter of the intuitive faculty. The Gestalt Psychologists have shown their adaptability, by according intuition its due share of recognition. But Freud banished it in his invective against philosophy.

Again Freud challenges the supposed finality attached by philosophy to its results. There are philosophers who believe in a finished universe. But there are many others who do not recognise the universe as completed. There are Niyatapadārthavādins as well as Aniyatapadarthavadins in Indian philosophy. Freud shows acquaintance with the system of Bergson. It passes one's understanding how he could lay this change at the door of philosophy which has among its votaries Bergson, Jeans, Eddington, or Russel, all of them acknowledged as eminent scientists. Even Albert Einstein has some sympathetic affiliation to philosophy and religion.

Freud complains that philosophy has not so far been able to solve the vexed question of the relation between mind and body. Even taken for granted that all the attempts of philosophy at solving this problem have proved abortive, does it follow that philosophy deserves no trust at all? It cannot be denied with eyes open and mind unbiassed, that philosophy set the problems and laid down the possible lines of approaching them. The theories in this field ranges from Monism to Pluralism through Dualism. The Monism of Spinoza not merely reduced mind and body to attributes of God but also enunciated the doctrine of one-to-one correspondence between them, *i.e.*, Paralellism, which is the fashion of the day. The logical outcome of paralellism culminates in the misty Panesychism of Fechner. Descartes' theory of Interactionism passed from Occasionalism to the Monadistic Pluralism of Leibnitz. The Materialism of Leucippus and Democritus passed through Epicureanism and Stoicism to Hobbes. Spiritualism, on the other hand, passed through Berkeley to Maine de Biran, the French philosopher. Psychology also has not as yet been able to give a decisive stroke to this apple of discord. Each psychologist accepts one or the other theory as it suits its purpose.

Again, Freud charges philosophy with ignoring the problem of dreams. This charge is unassailable. European philosophers viewed dream as belonging to the occult. But the same charge cannot be laid at the door of the Indian philosophers. Patanjali fully recognized the continuity of dream with waking life and demonstrated scientific knowledge of the unconscious. He went one step further into the depths of the unconscious by the recognition of Susupti or the state of dreamless sleep. Moreover, he shed light into various types of dreams pertaining to Clairvoyance, Clairaudience, Telepathy, Conversion, etc., some of which were later interpreted by Freud in his New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis.

To bring this discussion to a close—Does Philosophy correspond to Paranoid Delusion? Paranoids orpsychotics, no doubt, revel in grand delusional systems which resembie philosophical systems in being self-consistent. But to conclude, on this ground, that philosophy delusion, would be a fallacy of Simple Conversion. Psychosis originates from conflict between the Ego and Reality. Reality is too painful for the Ego to accept. The psychotic struggles to get rid of this conflict and tries to substitute for it a reality conjured up by his imagination. A normal or healthy reaction to the impact of Reality would be to accept it and then try to effect some change in it. While the neurotic ignores Reality and the psychotic denies it, the healthy or normal mind reconciles himself to it and then endeavours to produce changes within it as are permissible or desirable. " A loss of reality ", says Freud, " must be an inherent element of psychosis " (Collected Papers II- 277). The psychotic turns away from reality and remodels or reconstructs it in the teeth of strenuous opposition.

If the above, in short, be the aetiology and diagnosis of Psychosis, philosophy is essentially different from and hence not correspondent with this disorder. Normally the philosopher has no conflict with Reality. If he has any conflict at all, as every aspirant for knowledge must have, it emerges upon a highly intellectual plane and cannot be called pathological at all. Again, the philosopher does not necessarily lose contact with Reality. The charge that philosophers turn away from Reality may be levelled against the exploded philosophical doctrine of Subjective Idealism or Solipsism. The Realists who constitute a vigorous school of philosophy testify to the emptiness of this charge. Even Idealists like Hegel, and Ramanuja would staunchly oppose it. The cases of Samkara or Plato may be cited in evidence of this charge. Whatever their philosophical theories

might be, these did not deflect them from the most vigorous activities of everyday life. The philosophers accept Reality and then give it a new meaning or value by way of interpretation or rationalisation. Thus the philosophers satisfy Freud's criterion of a normal and healthy mind. They are not paranoids, psychotics or lunatics. They are as normal and as healthy as the scientists. But be it said to the credit of Freud that his strictures may curb the enthusiasism of those who masquerade in the gaudy name of philosophers without being so.

Round The World

Abolition of a Vicious Principle

The Constituent Assembly which had been meeting from day to day since the middle of May has now finished two-thirds of its work of framing the new Constitution of India. One of the important changes which this Constitution will introduce will be concerned with the mode of representation of the different groups of people in the central and provincial legislatures. It should be recalled that since the operation of the Indian Councils Act of 1909 the principle of separate representation of different religious and other communities through separate electorates has been worked in this country. None will deny that it has had disastrous results. In fact it had its logical culmination in the partition of the country practically on a religious basis. The argument was that as different religious groups were separate entities, they should be represented in the legislatures as such through their own representatives elected by their own voters. This idea of the Muslims in particular being a separate entity was gradually so strengthened by their enjoying separate representation that in the thirties they claimed to be a separate nation and in 1940 they formulated the demand that as a separate nation they must have a separate home. This is the thesis of partition.

The partition has been effected but the new state of Pakistan has attracted so far only few of the Muslims whose home is in residuary India. The question arose as to how these Indian Muslims and together with them some other minority groups will be represented in the legislatures of free India. The Constituent Assembly set up a Minorities Advisory Committee with Sardar Patel as its Chairman. This Committee was originally of the view that these different groups might continue to have seats reserved for them in the legislatures but the electorates devised for filling these seats should no longer be separate but joint. The Muslims, the Christians and the Sikhs would have so many seats reserved for them and they would be filled only by people belonging to their own communities. But in returning them voters of all communities and groups would participate. This was evidently a half way house. It did not amount to the abolition of the idea that different religious groups were so many separate political entities. Only its evil effects were to be modified by the system of joint electorates. It was not surprising on this account that after the partition of the country and the declaration of residuary India as a secular state there were many who did not like this halting arrangement. They wanted to go the whole hog and abolish reservation of seats altogether. They knew from experience that the principle of separatism once conceded would grow in strength

and become afresh in the course of a few more years a threat to the unity and safety of the state. Reservation of seats would provide to the separatists a rallying ground which they would utilise for their own purposes.

It is to the credit of Dr H. C. Mookerjee who is the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly and is himself the leader of a Minority Community that he took courage in both hands and demanded the abolition of the principle of reservation. His demand has been conceded in an amended form first by the Minorities Advisory Committee and then by Constituent Assembly itself. Only the scheduled castes including a few groups of the Sikh people will have in the future some seats reserved for them. This is a concession to their backwardness and is intended to set them up on their own legs during the next one decade. After ten years, however, the reservation would automatically lapse. Possibly both the Minorities Advisory Committee and the Constituent Assembly would have been wiser to go the whole hog at once and make no concession even to backwardness in this regard. In fact it is the experience of all that just as industries protected on the ground of their being in an infant state find it difficult, if not impossible, to grow out of the leading strings, so a group of people treated indulgently on the political plane on the ground of backwardness will hardly ever lack arguments for the perpetuation of the concessions. But in any event the decision that has been taken will help considerably in simplifying the political pattern of India and in making the legislature a better instrument of welfare for all people in the country.

Supreme Court Judges

The Constituent Assembly has fixed the age of retirement of the Supreme Court Judges at sixty-five. There was an interesting debate on the subject, in which the Prime Minister also participated. Some members wanted them to retire at sixty. In this regard they thought that the provincial High Courts supplied a precedent which might better be followed in the Supreme Court as well. It would make the bench efficient and give younger men a chance. It was pointed out that after sixty the judges would no longer have the physical resilience necessary for the proper discharge of their onerous duties. The climate of the country was not propitious for older men to keep up the physical vigour without which steady attention to work in the court would be out of the question. Raising the age limit might help in creating awkward situations of judges dozing while advocates were pleading. As against this point of view it was stated that the Supreme Court bench required men of mature experience and sound judgment which could be acquired only by people in mature age. It was also not reasonable that a judge should think of retirement immediately after appointment. He should have an opportunity to remain on the bench sufficiently long. In the United States of America there are instances of judges remaining at their posts even after completing

their ninetieth year. It is true that the late President Franklin Roosevelt had tried to induce the judges to retire at seventy on the ground that they lost usually their mental elasticity in old age and could not adjust to the changing circumstances of the country. His efforts were, however, nullified by the legislature. So the practice continues that the federal judges in that country may continue on the bench as long as they live. We may not go as far as the U. S. A. in this regard. But the experience of that country should at least teach us that there is no virtue in fixing retirement age at sixty. Most men keep up their faculties long after they attain that age even in this country where wear and tear are far greater than in western democracies. In view of this it seems wise of the Constituent Assembly to follow the framers of the Government of India Act, 1935 in fixing the age limit at sixty-five.

The Supreme Court Judges will be recruited not only from among judges of the Provincial High Courts and direct from among practising lawyers but also from among eminent jurists who may not have practised at the bar. This latter provision which was made at the instance of Mr. H. V. Kamath will do good to the bench. In Britain it has not been acted up to in the selection of judges. India following British tradition has also so far not thought of these jurists while making appointments to the bench. In the United States, however, from time to time, non-practising jurists have been elevated to the Supreme Court Bench. It is of course true that in this country such men have been rare in the past. Whole-time professors of law who have attained eminence as jurists are not few in the United States. But in India they appear to be conspicuous by their absence. Some Universities have, however, opened law departments in which whole-time non-practising professors are being appointed. It may be expected that some of them will in the future attain renown as legal scholars. There will be no bar to their being appointed to the Supreme Court Bench. Incidentally it should be emphasised here that legal studies are not given as great an importance today as they were given thirty years ago. Possibly because they monopolised so much of our attention at that time, there was this reaction against such studies in the last three decades. The non-cooperation movement which put a ban on practising law might have also much to do with this reaction. Too many lawyers jostling with one another in the corridors of law courts might have also presented an unedifying spectacle and created aversion against legal studies. In any event it seems we have now gone to the other extreme. New interest should now be created among students for going in for legal studies. That will counteract the general tendency among young men to choose only the career of either a scientist or an accountant.

There was also a good debate regarding the procedure to be followed in making appointments to the Supreme Court Bench. There were some

who pinned their faith to the principle of appointing judges by the legislature. There are some countries which follow this procedure. Switzerland, *e.g.*, appoints the judges of the Federal Court through the Federal Assembly. It, however, seems that appointment by the executive has much to commend itself. In the United States, of course, such appointment is subject to ratification by the Senate. Nor is ratification a mere formal affair. Actually much of what is done by the Senate in scrutinising the career of the persons nominated by the President is rather unedifying. It is better that it has been avoided in our country by not giving the legislature or a branch of it any share in making these appointments. But in appointing Puisne Judges the executive will be required to consult the Chief Justice. In other words the initiative is likely to be his in the choice of names for these offices. This will be in line with traditions followed in the Provincial High Courts where to fill a vacancy on the bench the Chief Justice forwards one or more names. Years ago Professor Laski of London was of the view that appointments to judgeships should be made on the advice of a small Committee of Judges. We do not know if the Drafting Committee explored the implications of this suggestion and rejected it as unsuitable to Indian circumstances. In any event let us hope that by the method prescribed only outstanding men would be appointed as judges of the Supreme Court. It should be remembered in this connection that the judges of the Supreme Court which would be the final authority regarding the interpretation of the fundamental law of the country must not only be good lawyers but sound statesmen as well.

Governors of Provinces

The Draft Constitution provided for two alternative methods of choosing the Governors of Provinces which are to be renamed States. They might be elected by the primary voters of the Province. They might again be chosen by the President from among the nominees of the Provincial Legislature. The Constituent Assembly has turned down both the suggestions. The first method was rejected on several grounds. The Governors will be on the whole constitutional heads of their respective states. Consequently it will be unnecessary for them to be chosen through that elaborate and cumbrous method of millions of voters going to the polling booths in different parts of a large and far-flung province. The expenses incurred and the din and bustle created by such an election will be uncalled for. Secondly, a Governor elected by popular suffrage might set himself up as a rival of the Premier. Everything should be done by way of discouraging such an unhealthy competition and rivalry for power. The Provincial legislature also should not have anything to do with the choice of the Governor. In case it suggested a panel of names, it would expect the first in the list to be accepted by the President. If that was not done, unneces-

sary heartburning might be the result, Besides, the Governor should be above party politics and the petty tactics that such politics happens to involve. But if the future Governor was to have a place in the panel of names suggested by the Legislature, he must be in the thick of party politics and is unlikely to be above rivalry of groups when installed in his gadi. So both the methods were turned down and it was decided that the President of the Republic will appoint the Governors on the advice of the Prime Minister. It is expected that the Ministry of a province whose Governor is to be appointed will also be consulted. This is the method of appointment which has been followed for the last two years and we are told that it has yielded excellent results. Consequently there was no justification for substituting for it another procedure which may or may not work properly.

This method of appointment together with the fact that the Governors will hold their office during the pleasure of the President will bring them considerably under the control of the Federal Government. Through these Governors again who, though ordinarily exercising only constitutional functions, will not be more figure-heads, the Federal Government will acquire some powers of control over the state (provincial) Governments. At the present time Congress ministries are installed everywhere and the Government at New Delhi whose head and deputy head are also top leaders of the Congress organisation find little difficulty in controlling and co-ordinating the activities of different Provincial Governments. Such control is also ensured through financial help which the provinces happen to get from the Centre. In the future we should visualise the existence in at least some provinces of Governments which would be different in political complexion from the Government at New Delhi. It might not be easy then for the latter to control the former only through the machinery of grant-in-aid. In view, however, of the fissiparous forces already raising their head such control by the Central Government over provincial authorities even in the domain reserved for the latter may be desirable. So it seems that it has been wise of the Constituent Assembly not only to make the Governors virtually nominees of the Central Government but to invest these Governors with some discretionary authority as well. This is, of course, not to mean that we are minimising the dangers of centralisation which may be great particularly if the Central Government comes at any time to be dominated by undesirable men. So on the whole diversified authority is better than concentration of authority in one place. But time appears yet distant for such a warning to be issued.

Sir Charles Trevelyan and Civil Service Reform

Text books have familiarised students of British administrative history of the 19th century with the part played by Sir Charles Trevelyan in the abolition of the patronage system and in the introduction of other reforms

in civil service recruitment and training. But many of the papers drawn up by Sir Charles in this connection and many other details of the movement which was set on foot for this reform were not known even to those careful students who wanted to make this subject their own. It is good on this account that the English Historical Review (Vol. LXIV) has devoted nearly forty pages to the publication of these materials. For lay readers of this paragraph it may be stated that Sir Charles Trevelyan was originally a Bengal Civilian trained at Haileybury. When Macaulay came over to Calcutta as the first Law Member in 1834, he was accompanied by a sister who was to keep his house. Sir Charles who had already become noted for a report on provincial tariff barriers became intimate with the Macaulay family and in good time married the sister of the Law Member. This relationship with Macaulay helped him to retire early from the Company's Service and in 1840 to be appointed Assistant Secretary to the British Treasury. It was in this latter capacity that a few years later he took up cudgels against the prevailing system of appointing clerks in the Departments at Whitehall. It should also be added incidentally that Sir Charles was the founder of the great Trevelyan Dynasty which has done so much for the promotion of historical learning. His son was Sir George Trevelyan, whose education was supervised by Macaulay himself. He was the author of that great work in three volumes—The American Revolution One of the sons of Sir George is George Macaulay Trevelyan, formerly Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge and the author of many volumes of history which are at once entertaining and scholarly. He has also given us a Memoir of his grandfather, the first Sir Charles.

In a letter to Mr. Delane, the famous Editor of the Times, Sir Charles makes observations regarding the civil service, which may be entertaining to our readers."...there can be no doubt that our high Aristocracy have been accustomed to employ the Civil Establishments as a means of providing for the Waifs and Strays of their Families—as a sort of Foundling Hospital where those who had not energy to make their way in the open professions, or for whom it was not convenient to purchase one in the Army might receive a nominal office, but real Pension, for life, at the expense of the public. The Dukes of Norfolk, for instance, have provided for their illegitimate children in this manner, generation after generation. There are still several of them in the Public Service and one of them is the most notorious idler and jobber in it. Another, who shocked his fellow clerks by continually falling down in epileptic fits, was put into the Treasury a few years ago and nothing could exceed his astonishment at his being told by me that he was expected to work like his fellow clerks..." While the reformers had thus practically unanswerable arguments in favour of drastic changes in the system of recruitment and promotion of the civil servants, vested interests were also very strong and their citadel did not collapse at the first onslaught. One of the main arguments for the status quo was that use

in all ages by men of affairs—book knowledge was not an advantage but a handicap to men who would be required to handle public affairs. That the argument is absurd is not always brought home to those who are not properly educated but have made headway in the world. They would possibly think that Gladstone with his double first was only handicapped by it in his long career as a politician and statesman. The *Morning Post* which stood then as afterwards for vested interests had cheap gibes against men who had any reputation as writers or scholars. It thought that English administration would only break down under the weight of the education of the civil servants if they were recruited as a result of a competitive examination. Many may regard today this stand as not only unintelligent but foolish. But we should not conclude that the type of outlook which the *Morning Post* represented one century ago has disappeared altogether at the present time.

Council of Europe

By the time these lines are in print the Council of Europe to which the British Government recently nominated its delegates may be in session. The British delegates have been taken from all parties and include Churchill who, it is not unlikely, may be elected President. The Council has been acclaimed as an important step towards the unity of Western Europe. Already a military alliance has been established between Britian, France, Belgium, Luxemburgh and the Netherlands. A common military authority has also been set up. The Council is intended to be its political counterpart. Evidently the Council will only be a deliberative body to discuss from time to time their common political and other problems. It is not intended to be a legislature. At the back of the mind of some there may, however, be an idea that this body may ultimately develop into a federal parliament to which some heads of legislation might be assigned. But many hurdles will have to be crossed before such a result is attained. Common danger has brought these countries together for military purposes. But otherwise the differences among them are too sharp to be obliterated very easily. Each of them is a sovereign country with long traditions of its own. It will not be an easy job to whittle down this sovereignty and merge it in a Union. The linguistic differences are also too pronounced to make for a collaboration on a federal plane. If again these differences are ignored and these countries are federated, that by itself will not take Europe far on the road to unity. Spain will remain out. Italy's position will remain uncertain, the Scandinavian countries will not fall in. Besides them, there will be the countries behind the Iron curtain. They are also European countries, though allied with a power which may be dubbed as half Asian. So it is not exactly clear what ultimately will come out of the calling of this Council. It may not necessarily be a stepping stone to a larger and more comprehensive union. It may not be a landmark on a broad highway. It may be only a signpost to a blind lane.

Asia in American Universities

Columbia College will broaden the base of its pioneer General Education Plan next September by launching a group of survey courses on Asiatic Civilization, made possible through a grant of $1000,000 by the Carnegie Corporation of America. The courses will complement the Contemporary Civilization and Humanities courses in which Columbia College students have studied western civilization.

In outlining plans for the course, Dean Harry Carman said., "We hear much these days about America assuming leadership in a global world. One wonders, however, whether such leadership will ensure a less troubled world if the American people know little or nothing about the myriad peoples of Asia....

"As a result, we are gratefull to the Carnegie Corporation of America for the grant which makes it possible for Columbia College to extend its broad courses for undergraduates.

"The student taking these courses will have a broadened perspective. He will be equipped with a fund of knowledge enabling him to be a better citizen in a world that henceforth moves in the direction of 'one worldliness'.

Professor James Guttman will be in administrative charge of the new courses. Dr. Taraknath Das of the Department of History will give a course on India and one on Asia in World Politics. Professor Moses Hadas of the Department of Greek and Latin, Theodore de-Bary, who is now in China on a Cutting Fellowship, and Herbert Deane of the Department of Government will direct the General discussion course in the Classics of Asiatic Civilization. All will devote a large part of their time to preparation of material for two new courses comparable tc the present Columbia College introductions to Contemporary Civilization and tbe Humanities.

The classes will be taught in sections of not more than 25 students each and will employ in most cases the reading-discussion technique rather than the lecture method. For the present courses will be optional to all college students and all undergraduates of Barnard and General Studies.

Columbia College pioneered in the Contemporary Civilization courses immediately after World War I, when international relations among western nations assumed ever increasing importance. Now that World War II has brought problems of Asia into new focus to the world scene, Columbia undergraduates will be enabled to study them as they have studied those of Europe and America. The program is the first launched on such a basis for undergraduates in an American College.

Reviews and Notices of Books

New Lives For Old—Foreword by H. E. Sir Maharaj Singh, Governor of Bombay. Published by Provincial Prohibition Board, Government of Bombay, 75, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 131. Price Rs. 1-4.

The book under review consists of eight speeches,—two by the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier, five by the Hon'ble Mr. L. M. Patil Minister of Excise and Reconstruction and one by the Hon'ble Mr. Morarji Desai, Minister for Home and Revenue, Bombay.

The first speech of the Honble Mr. Kher delivered before the Provincial Prohibition Board draws attention to the work to be undertaken by that organisation. After referring to the difficulties which would have to be surmounted, he suggests way to meet them. His second speech shows those undergoing training as Prohibition Officers the positive nature of prohibition as a programme of reconstruction. Mr. Kher who as Premier of Bombay under provincial autonomy, introduced prohibition in 1937-39, has, in these two speeches, drawn upon his experience to recommend a new and more satisfactory technique to achieve success which, it may be added are highly practical.

Of the five speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Patil, one was delivered before the Bombay Legislative Assembly when introducing certain bills to enforce prohibition more effectively than in the past while the second one was a reply to the various criticisms levelled against them. The first of these very ably summarises the excise policy of our British rulers, gives an account of the fate of prohibition in such western countries where it has been tried and, while explaining the reasons for its failure, proves how the experiment has every chance of success in our motherland where conditions are certainly more promising. The reply given when winding up the debate is a smashing one. Mr. Patil who quotes from the criticisms offered proves how one speaker frequently contradicts another and how equally often, the same speaker contradicts himself. The two facts which stand out in this speech are his unusual ability as a debater and his intimate knowledge and thorough mastery of his subject.

In a third speech, Mr. Patil deals with the need of prohibition as a satisfactory method of reconstruction and shows the hollowness of the reasons urged against its introduction. The attention of the reader is specially drawn to the scheme outlined by him for the profitable utilisation of the raw meterials all along used in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages in his province. The address delivered when Indian Christian youngmen staged a prohibition drama is a short but pregnant indictment of alcohol

while the one delivered before the excise staff deals with their new role in free India and tells them what improvements are under contemplation.

The speech of Mr. Morarji Desai addressed to Prohibition Officers makes it clear that success in prohibition cannot be achieved merely through legislation and through the infliction of punishments however stringent, on offenders but that mobilisation of public opinion in favour of it is essential.

After finishing the book, the two impressions left on the mind of the reader are first, that the case for prohibition has found very able representation from the above three members of the Bombay Government who speaking on different occasions and at different times, appear unconsciously to have supplemented one another so as to cover all the more important aspects of the problem and secondly, that all of them are equally inspired by a burning faith in their work.

It is hoped that the Provincial Prohibition Board will continue the publication of similar literature giving it wide publicity so that other provinces may also be encouraged to tackle the drink and drug problem vigorously in our motherland.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

An Apostle of Monism—by Sister Shivani, Ramkrishna Vedanta Math Price: inland, Rs. 7-8; foreign 15*s*. or $ 3.50

The book under review comes from the pen of an American disciple of the late Swami Abhedananda. Swami Abhedananda needs no introduction. He was one of the direct disciples of Sri Ramkrishna. Swami Abhedananda, like Swami Vivekananda, travelled on foot through the length and breadth of this country and studied at first hand her culture as exhibited in temples, institutions, social laws and customs. The Swami was an immense man. When he was well on in his sixties he crossed the Himalayas on foot into Tibet and remained there for some time visiting Buddhist monasteries and discussing spiritual themes with the Lamas there. That was really a feat; even the ablest young man amongst us would stagger at the Swami's performance. He was a Sanskritist, vastly learned in western philosophy and Eastern lores. He joined Swami Vivekananda in America in 1897 and since worked hard there for long twenty-five years. When Swami Abhedananda arrived in New York he was only thirty-one years of age. After Vivekananda's death his mantle fell over Abhedananda. Ever since his arrival he worked at high pressure. He used to sit up late hours at night deep in study and lecture at day-time often for months on end. He was master of English, steeped in Sanskrit, scientific and spiritualistic literature of the world. Above all, he was a man of high spiritual realization and a great orator. It was a delight to hear him speak in his silvery voice. He was offered the Chair of English at Harvard

University. But he could not accept the offer as he was a sannyasin and as such could not take up any secular job. He met the prominent men of letters, philosphers, and scientists of his time. The writings of such eminent thinkers as Royce and William James are proof that the intellectuals of America of the nineteenth and early twentieth century reckoned with the ideas Vivekananda and Abhedananda disseminated there.

The Swamis did not preach any parochial doctrine; they preached universal truth which is the bed-rock of the Vedanta and of the religions. Christian missionaries had already made a load of mischief to us by their evil propaganda against Indian religion and culture. Swami Vivekananda and Swami Abhedananda by their pure life, selfless work and ennobleing ideals removed from the minds of the Americans the fog of prejudice that had blurred their spiritual vision. They brought to Americans an understanding of the message of the East, which is the message of universal truth, good will and peace. Whatever historians may say in regard to contacts between the East and the West in the past, nobody can question that the first effective contact between Western and Eastern culture was made possible through Swami Vivekananda and Swami Abhedananda. They between them made history.

This country is now in hectic excitement. Our leaders are much too preoccupied to assess the contribution of a saint like Swami Abhedananda. The Press and the public, generally speaking, are evidently in no mood to appreciate what Swami Vivekananda and his co-workers did for world-culture, world-peace and for India. The Author of the book has done well in presenting an exhaustive account of the life and doings of Swami Abhedananda, one of the greatest personalities nineteenth century India produced. She is to be congratulated for accomplishing the noble task she took upon herself.

I, however, notice one defect of the book. In it the biography of the Swami, the autobiography of the author herself and a commentary on the teaching of the Swami mix up together. And this renders the book rather cumbrous. The author ought to have kept herself in the background and given the Swami's biography and an account of his philosophy separately. Further in some contexts the book is marked by gross exaggeration. In one place the author says, "Like a beacon at the cross-roads of eternity stands Abhedananda, this Apostle of Monism, guide and guru to all humanity". Were Swamiji alive to read this book, he would have resented very much this piece of exaggeration. Indeed without a Vivekananda and without an Abhedananda the Gospel of Sri Ramkrishna would not have travelled across the seas. The fact, however, remains that without Ramkrishna, Vivekananda and Abhedananda could not be what in fact they were. What can be said of Ramkrishna cannot be said of his creatures.

I must not be misunderstood. I make these remarks only to show that in the book there is yet room for improvement. The book is really the first of its kind and is, on the whole, informative and highly instructive. Every Indian and every lover of God all over the world should go through the book once. This book affords a clear view of one of the most important aspects of the cultural history of modern India, and can well be commended to historians, philosophers and mystics.

ADHARCHANDRA DAS

Second Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations—Published from the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1948.

This Report, prepared in 1948, has been submitted by the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations in pursuance of Article V, paragraph 2 (*a*), of the Agreement between the U. N. and the I.L.O. signed early in 1946. It is the second of two Reports prepared in pursuance of this Agreement, the first having been submitted in 1947. The earlier Report covered the period from the establishment of the United Nations to July 15, 1947, while the present Report covers a period of eight months, from July 1947 to March 1948. The subjects dealt with in these Reports are connected mainly with the activities of the I.L.O. in the fields of social security, the protection of children and young persons, women's work and so on.

A special feature of the present report is the importance that it has attached to "man power problems". A good many countries of Europe are experiencing an over-all shortage of labour, while, on the other hand some countries have substantial surpluses of labour. The simultaneous existence within Europe of manpower surpluses and shortages may suggest to many minds planned migration of labour as a solution of the manpower problem. Migration, however, cannot be a solution—cannot, at any rate, be a complete solution—of the problem in view of the fact that the surplus workers to be found in some countries are unskilled and inexperienced, while countries suffering from shortage of labour mostly require more or less skilled workers. In general, occupational nomenclature and manpower statistics vary so much from one country to another that it has been difficult to find any basis for successfully matching men and jobs between the different countries. In a situation like this the importance of vocational training and retraining is great, such training and retraining being the obvious principal means of adapting skill to changing occupational requirements. The work of the I.L.O. in the vocational training field has been carried out in association with the other international organisations concerned directly or indirectly with the development of improved training. It is interesting to note in this connection that at the request of the Economic Commission for the Far East, the International Labour Office has

appointed a representative to make a survey of the manner in which assistance can most effectively be given to Governments of that region in respect of vocational training and retraining.

A second feature of the present Report is the attention that it has devoted to agriculture—a topic not dealt with in the first Report. The constant progress of International and national legislation in favour of industrial workers, with which the legislation concerning agricultural labour could not keep pace, increased the discrepancy in working conditions between industry and agriculture and made it evident that more attention would have to be paid to the problem of agricultural labour. In these circumstances the Governing Body of the I.L.O. appointed a permanent Agricultural Committee to advise it on agricultural questions. The P.A.C., which held its first post war session in August 1947, expressed the view that the time was now ripe for the international regulation of minimum wages and holidays with pay in agriculture. It kept for consideration at its next session a detailed study of hours of work and social security in agriculture. It is worth noting that the permanent Agricultural Committee, during its second session, laid special emphasis on the existence, from the agricultural point of view, of two groups of countries with dissimilar conditions—the developed and the underdeveloped countries. It was pointed out that the developed countries have a stake in raising the standard of living in the underdeveloped countries and that a basis for international assistance should be sought in collaboration with other appropriate bodies.

The Report contains a note on the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. held in New Delhi from October 27th to November 8th, 1947, with Mr. Jagjivan Ram as President. The New Delhi Conference has been described in this note as "by all accounts a most successful one". It has aptly been added that the social edifice of which the New Delhi Conference provided a glimpse will have to be constructed by continued and sustained efforts extending over a long period.

AMLAN DATTA

The Gupta Empire—by Radhakamud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D,. F.R.A.S.B., Itihasa-Siromani, *Emeritus* Professor, Lucknow University.

Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay; xi 174 pages with xix plates; Price—Rs. 10-8-0.

In kindling popular imagination about the glory that India had been, no other period in Indian history can rival the age during which the Imperial Guptas were holding their sway in northern India. Whenever any body tries to recapture the splendour of India's past he is drawn to the images of Buddha that rest in eternal repose, the paintings on the walls of Ajanta ablaze with coloured representation of the whole age, of men

and women in a society full of life and gaity portrayed in the poetry of Kalidasa and also to the Puranas and the Mahabharata which revealed the inner soul of a race as if in a mirror. The standard of civilization that is found reflected in art and literature finds also corroborated from such evidences that can be used as more sound sources of history. Among these can be counted a number of dated chronicles, inscriptions which were laid on stone, burnt clay and copper plates giving out deeds of living persons perpetuated during specified time accountable in history. There are further, hoards of coins issued by the emperors in various metals. These coins give out clue to the inner condition of the economic structure prevalent in society. In addition to these there is also a stray note of a Chinese traveller, Fa Hien, whose account reads like a romance of an unbelievable world.

These materials sifted in a proper manner can build up a story of considerable magnitude and Dr. Mookerji is a very competent authority to venture in this field. The book as it appears from the author's introduction had been designed to meet the requirements of anvanced students of this country but it will also be read by scholars and other inquisitive readers with great satisfaction. Dr. Mookerji's grasp upon the subject and his long association with the students have made the ordinary text book something more than what it was actually intended to be. He has made use of all the available materials and his arrangement of these materials will help the students in many ways. The author, however, could not withstand the lure of entering into chronological deliberations so common with the historians in this country and his handling of the chronology of the succesors of Kumaragupta will be considered too much for uninitiated students. The jumble in the line of succession of the Imperial Guptas after Kumaragupta, I has been an enigma for the historian for a long time and unless some new material is made available any new interpretation of the already known facts would be of little convincing effect. Non-mention of the name of some kings found in inscriptions discovered at Faridpur and Burdwan is also mentionable in this connection. The chapter on Material and Moral Progress (Chapter XVI) will also be considered too short and inadequate for the attainments of an age considered to be the brightest in the history of our country. The period is extremely rich in sculpture and painting and the rudiments of architecture are also an important feature of this age. The plates have not made a true justice to these achievements. The addition of a bibliography wauld have added to the usefulness of the book. Paper, printing and get-up of the book are, however, of a fairly high standard, rarely attainable in this country. The book will certainly be read by students as well as lay readers to their benefit and interest.

KALYAN K. GANGULI

Ourselves

Professor Benoy Sarkar

Professor Benoy Sarkar of the Department of Economics who has been in the U. S. A. on educational tour since February last has been invited to be a Professor in the University of Miehigan for the present summer session. He is to deliver four lectures per week (for eight weeks) on the Peoples and Cultures of India. He is besides to deliver public lectures also under the auspices of the University. Professor Sarkar who has been a valued member of the Editorial Board of this Review for years will, we hope, succeed in satisfying much of the curiosity about India and Indians which the last war and the newly won freedom of this country have created among the American people.

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Professor Sarkar at South East Asia Conference at the University of Chicago

As a guest of the Harris Foundation in International Relations of the University of Chicago, Professor Benoy Sarkar of Calcutta University was invited by Director P. Talbot to the Conference on Nationalism and Regionalism in South Asia organized by it on May 25-29, 1949, and he took part in the deliberations.

Some three dozen participants comprised Mr. R. Soedjatmoke (of the Indonesian Delegation to the U. N. Security Council), Ambassador C. P. Romulo (Philippines Representative to the U. N.) and Dr. Balmukund Piplani (of the Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the U. N.). Mr. J. S. Furnivall, I.C.S. (Retd.), Advisor to the Government of the Union of Burma, and Mr. A. C. S. Adams, British Consul at Cincinnati, were two non-Americans. Among Americans, six represented the State Department (Foreign Affairs) of the Federal Government at Washington, D. C., three were journalists, three bankers or business men, one Orientalist, and the rest academicians (professors of geography, anthropology, economics, and political science). Professor Q. Wright (international law), Professor W. F. Ogburn (sociology), Professor H. J. Morgenthau (political science),

Professor F. Eggan (anthropology), and others of the University of Chicago were on the Managing Committee of the Harris Foundation. Professor T. Schultz (economics) and Professor C. Morris (psychology), both of Chicago, Dr. H. Poleman (indology) of the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C., all of whom had been in India, and Professor C. Merriam (political science) were also among the participants.

The following papers were read and discussed :—

1. South Asia in the World Today (Furnivall)
2. The Resources Pattern: South East Asia (Prof. K. J. Pelzer, Geography, Yale University)
3. Population and Economy in India and Pakistan (Prof. K. Davis, Sociology, Columbia University)
4. Industrial and Agricultural Plans and Problems (Piplani)
5. Patterns of Trade (H. Brodie, Washington, D. C.)
6. Cultural Facets of South Asian Regionalism (Miss Cora DuBois, Washington, D. C.
7. Traditional Differences and Similarities (Professor D. Mandelbaum, Anthropology, California)
8. Motion Pictures of India (Prof. Amiya Chakravarty, Calcutta, absent. His paper was read by Prof. Sarkar)
9. Malay Linguistics (Soedjatmoke)
10. Problems of South Asian Nationalisms (H. Isaacs, Editor, Newsweek Magazine)
11. The Communist Role (M. Sacks, Washington, D. C.)
12. Co-operation, Competition and Isolation in the Economic Pattern (Furnivall)
13. Nationalism, Communism and Regionalism in South Asia (Romulo).

On the last day all these papers and discussions were summarized by Prof. J. Embree (Anthropology, Yale), Professor D. Thorner (Economics, Pennsylvania), and W. L. Holland (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York). No resolutions were adopted and no special publicity was given. None but participants were present at the Round Table discussions. There were only four public lectures, those by Mr. Furnivall, Miss DuBois and Ambassador Romulo. The Conference was called for purely academic analysis and scientific stock-taking. Objectivity was maintained throughout.

On the whole the presentations were favourable to Asia's progress and prosperity.

While no attempts were made to promote enthusiasm and opti-

nism about Asia's future, no ground was detected for longterm pessimism.

In response to American interviewers Professor Sarkar observed that the United States had been building up a body of experts and specialists about the diverse regions of Asia, area by area.

He observed, further, that Asian scholars, businessmen and publicists would soon find it worthwhile to come to the U. S. for intensive, factual and quantitative investigations and researches about their own fields of interest in the specialized regional Institutes of American Universities, because considerable resources were at the disposal of American institutions.

* * * *

The late Sir Monoharlal

We are grieved by the news of the death at Ambala of Sir Monoharlal. It should be remembered that he started his eventful career as an educationist and public man at Calcutta in 1909. He had already then established his reputation as a scholar of a subject which had not yet much of a vogue in this country but which in the course of the next decade would attract much of the attention of the young students of our Universities. He had specialised in Cambridge in Economics and when the Minto Professorship in that subject was created at the Calcutta University on the initiative of its the then Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, this young Punjabi scholar was invited to take up the situation. He was at Calcutta for five years and thereafter he joined the Bar of the Chief Court at Lahore and gradually made headway as a lawyer, educationist and public man in his home province. For several years he was appropriately the Finance Minister of the Punjab Government. The partition of the country involving the partition of his fair province resulted in the severing of many ties and the uprooting of millions of people. Sir Monoharlal also had to quit his home at Lahore which had been the centre of his activities and come over to Ambala. This forced migration made his heart sick and certainly hastened the end of a fruitful career.

* * * *

The Vice-Chancellor

The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, has been away

for a month in the new world. He has attended the Conference of Commonwealth Universities at Halifax, Nova Scotia and also the Conference of Canadian Universities which was held about the same time. The McGill University of Montreal which is one of the important seats of learning in the Dominion of Canada conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws *honoris causa*. We appreciate this act of courtesy on the part of this Canadian University and congratulate ourselves on the honour bestowed upon our Vice-Chancellor.

* * * *

Sir Asutosh Death Anniversary

The death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was observed on the 25th May last. In the morning the function was held at the foot of his statue in Chowringhee Square. Dr. N. N. Law presided. He recalled the services rendered by Sir Asutosh in different capacities, particularly as the builder of the Calcutta University as we know it today. In the evening Professor P. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, paid tribute to his memory at the function held at the foot of his bust in the Darbhanga building and recalled the great qualities of head and heart which made Sir Asutosh so successful in the great adventure of his life—the creation of a teaching and research institution in India. A quarter of a century has now elapsed since Sir Asutosh died at Patna. During this period enormous changes have come about on the face of India. It is, however, unfortunate that men of his calibre, never many, have now become scarce. It is time that people should try to emulate the example of hard work, wide outlook, steady industry and dogged determination which he had set.

* * * *

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee visits the Institute of Jute Technology Building

On the 27th of the last month the Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee visited the site of the Institute of Jute Technology at Ballygunge. The building which is to house the Institute is now half complete. It should be recalled that the Institute is to function under a scheme jointly sponsored by the Indian Jute Mills Association and the Calcutta University. The function held in connection with the Hon'ble Minister's visit was studiedly informal but exceedingly pleasant.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

NOTICE

Memo No. C/6304/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the Session 1948-49 the Subhas Institute of Culture, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Political Economy and Political Philosophy to the B.A. Honours standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 30th March, 1949.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

NOTIFICATION

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor of West Bengal is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the Session 1948-49, the Burdwan Raj College shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Biology to the I.Sc. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1950 and not earlier

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

NOTICE

MEMO. No. C/6333"A"/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the Session 1948-49, the Muralidhar Girls' College, Ballygunge shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (Second Language) and Philosophy to the B.A. Pass standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

NOTIFICATION No. C/8098/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Uluberia College, Howrah, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Logic, Civics, History, Sanskrit, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. Standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

MEMO No. C/8115/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Women's Christian College, Kalighat, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Bengali (2nd Language), Sanskrit, History, Economics, and Philosophy to the B.A. (Pass) standard and also in Bengali (2nd language) to the B.A. (Honours) standard, with permission to present candidates, for the Examinations in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg).

THE BENGAL IMMUNITY PRIZE, 1949.

Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate, dated the 29th April, 1949.

"98. Read reports from Dr. B. Mukerji, D.Sc., M.D., M.P.S., F.N.I, and Dr. B. N. Ghosh, D.Sc., F.N.I., Members of the Board of Honorary Examiners to adjudicate upon the thesis entitled 'Daemia Extensa Linn' submitted by a candidate for the Bengal Immunity Research Prize for the year 1949.

Only one thesis was received for the year.

The Prize consists of a medal of the value of Rs. 75/- and a cash prize of Rs. 225/-.

RESOLVED—That the reports be adopted and the Prize be awarded to Mr. Praphullakumar Ray, M.B., that the thanks of the University be conveyed to Dr. Mukherji and Dr. Ghosh for their kind co-operation and that it be notified in the Calcutta Review."

Senate House:
A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

No.F.5-18/49-PHI
Government of India.
Ministry of Health.
New Delhi, the 11th March, 1949.

From

P. S. Doraswami, Esq., B.A.,
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

To

All Provincial Governments (except Madras)
Local Administrations.

Subjects: All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta—D.P.H., D.P.H. & Hy, D.H.C.W. and M.E. (P.H.) courses during 1949-50.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to this Ministry's letters No. F. 5-1/48-PHI, dated the 30th January, and No. F.5-3/48-PHI, dated the 14th April, 1948, and connected correspondence and to say that it is proposed to hold the next courses in D.P.H, D.P.H. & Hy., D.M.C.W. and Master of Engineering (Public Health) at the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, from June, 1949.

2. It is requested that the Provincial Government/Local Administration may select their candidates for the courses mentioned above and furnish information regarding their age, community, Province and educational and other qualifications direct to the Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, 110, Chittranjan Avenue, Calcutta, not later than the 15th April, 1949. Candidates with approved 'war service' are exempted from the payment of tuition fee of Rs. 300/- for the D.P.H and D.P.H. & Hy. courses and Rs. 150/- for the D.H.C.W. course payable to the Institute. As regards the course in Master of Engineering (Public Health) candidates with approved war service who are certified to be in indigent financial position will be exempted from payment of the tuition fee of Rs. 300/-.

3. Copies of the prospectus and syllabus are available of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, for the year 1949-50 containing the rules for admission, registration fees, etc. can be had from the Director of the Institute.

Yours faithfully,
Sd. P.S. DORASWAMI.
Under Secretary.

IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS—THE U.S.A.

A foreign student desiring to study in a university in the United States should satisfy the requirements of the visa regulations of the Department of State and the immigration regulations of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice.

Foreign students who go to the U.S.A. are given a visa for one year only in the first instance. This is renewed if the student's record is satisfactory. The normal outside time-limit for purposes of renewal is four years. If, however, a student is admitted to this country for a course of study which requires more than four years to complete, then towards the end of the fourth year, the student has to approach the Immigration Authorities with a certificate from the University to say that his work has been satisfactory and another year is needed to complete his course of study. On receipt of such an application, the Immigration Authorities forward the same to the Commissioner or Immigration Authorities who gives permission if he is satisfied that the request is a genuine one.

Students are admitted to the U.S.A. on the following visas:—

4 (e) Student Visa—the condition attached to this visa is that the student is admitted to an institution for *day classes* and not evening classes. The student should be at least 15 years of age.

3-2 Visitor's Visa: for tourist, business or pleasure trips, for temporary visits. A Trainee Visa is a 3-2 with the word "Trainee" stamped in. This will allow the student to stay in the U.S.A. for only six months.

3-1 Official Visa: Government Servants in employment but not holding diplomatic status or in the employment of Embassy staff.
A diplomatic visa is a 3-1 official visa with the word "Diplomatic" stamped in. A diplomatic visa is given to a person who goes to the U.S A. and is in the employ of the Embassy.

A Student Visa is given to anybody who has secured admission to an Institution which is on the Attorney General's approved list. The regulations also provide that an alien admitted as a student who failed to attend the institute to which he was admitted or "to which he has *lawfully* transferred" shall be deemed to have abandoned his status as a student and shall, "upon the warrant of the Attorney General, be taken into custody and deported."

The student visa, that is 4 (e) is the visa which we would recommend for all Indian students. The reason is that if a student goes on a student visa, if he wishes to take practical training at the completion of his theoretical course, he does not require to have his visa changed. If, on the other hand, a student has a visitor's visa, then the Immigration Authorities will not allow him to take practical training without changing his visa with their previous approval. This is not an easy task.

A student can get a student visa provided there is a certificate of Admission with him from the institution where he has been admitted. Therefore, the best thing to do is that students should approach the visa Authorities in India for the issuance of a visa only after they have secured admission. Candidates going to the U.S.A. should not obtain a visa on the strength of their previous employment because if they do so they would get an official visa or visitor's visa etc. This will not help if, after coming there, a student wishes to take practical training. If a person is going to the U.S.A. country as a student, he should disregard his official capacity in India and obtain a student visa.

Another important matter is regarding transfer of a student from one institution to another without the previous approval of the Immigration Authorities. This approval is absolutely necessary.

Students are not allowed to accept employment for wages, board, or lodging, unless they can show financial need, and must apply to the District Registrar for permission. District Director is the authority competent to permit employment during the summer vacation. His permission is also necessary when employment is sought as a part of practical training. Students, however, are warned not to go to the U.S A. with the intention of working their way through their study, because the question of employment is becoming more and more difficult.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1949

THE MAN-POWER OF WEST BENGAL

BENOY SARKAR, M.A., PH. D. (HONY.)

A LARGE DEMOGRAPHIC REGION

In absolute figures the population of West Bengal is large. Demographically speaking, West Bengal is to be regarded as a great power both by the Indian and the world standard. The man-power of West Bengal vis-á-vis that of larger provinces or states of the Indian Dominion is indicated below (in round figures):[1]

Province	Population in millions.	Province	Population in millions.
1. United Provinces	55.0	5. Bombay	20,8
2. Madras	49.3	6. C. P.	16,8
3. Bihar	36.3	7. Assam	10,2
4. West Bengal	21.2	8. Orissa	8,7

In the demographic pattern of Dominion India the figure 21 millions for West Bengal represents a substantial human grouping. This renders West Bengal somewhat larger in population than Bombay, and considerably larger than C. P. while outdistancing Assam and Orissa by enormous intervals. Demographically West Bengal is indeed more than twice as large as Assam and is also over 10 per cent larger than Assam and Orissa combined. Of the eight larger provinces of the present Indian set-up (since August, 1947) West Bengal is the fourth in the list according to numerical importance, being outdistanced by Bihar, Madras and the U.P.

By the world-standard also the man-power of West Bengal is not negligible. There are very few countries in the two Hemispheres which command the 21 million level. We may exclude the almost

[1] The figures are derived from the Census of 1941. For the West Bengal districts see *Statistical Abstract, West Bengal*, 1947 (Calcutta, 1948), p. 3.

subcontinental, federated areas like China (460 millions), Soviet Russia (170 millions) and the U.S.A. (144 millions), from the present consideration. In that case the only countries of the world that exceed the 21 million unit are the following six:[2]

	Country	Population in millions.	Country	Population in millions.
1.	Japan (1947)	78.0	4. Brazil (1946)	46.7
2.	Germany in four zones (1946)	65.9	5. Italy (1946)	45.4
3.	United Kingdom (1947)	49.7	6. France (1947)	41.0

The countries whose man-power is more or less on a par with that of West Bengal may then be singled out as follows:

	Country	Population in millions.	Country	Population in millions.
1.	Spain (1947)	27.5	5. Egypt (1947)	19.0
2.	Mexico (1947)	23.2	6. Siam (1947)	17.2
3.	West Bengal (1941)	21.2	7. Rumania (1946)	16.4
4.	Korea (1946)	19.3	8. Argentine (1947)	16.1

The approximate demographic peers of West Bengal are Spain and Rumania in Europe, Mexico and Argentine in Latin America, Korea and Siam in Asia, and Egypt in Africa. For economic and social studies it is these eight regions, demographically large as they are, that ought reasonably speaking to be considered together in the interest of comparative values regarding achievement, the rate of progress, and future prospects.

Second only to Mexico in Birth Rate

We shall take the birth rates first. It so happens that not all the countries of the above schedule are statistically equipped enough to exhibit these figures of vital statistics. The following table places West Bengal's average of 1939-43 in the perspective of those of its demographic peers whose birth rates are available for the same period:[3]

	Country	Birth rate	Country	Birth rate
1.	Mexico	44.7	4. West Bengal	28.9
2.	India	30.0	5. Rumania	25.8
3.	Japan	29.0	6. Spain	21.0

West Bengal's birth rate is virtually identical with that of Japan, which we have introduced in the above table as a demographic peer from this standpoint. In the same manner India has been placed in

[2] *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, April, 1948 (United Nations, Lake Success, New York), pp. 4-7.

[3] *West Bengal, 1947*, pp. 17-18; *Monthly Bulletin*, April, 1948, pp. 15-17.

this group as an example of the general level to which the international neighbours of West Bengal are used. Be it observed that these birth rates are the highest in the world. The birth rates of West Bengal, Japan and India are much higher than those of Rumania and Spain which exhibit the maximum in Europe, but are lower than those of Latin American Mexico, which with 44.7 per 1000 inhabitants tops the world-list. Be it noted, however, that West Bengal is way behind Mexico.

Death Rate Highest

The demographic peers of West Bengal may now be grouped together from the standpoint of mortality or death rate per 1000 inhabitants. The table is as follows (in averages for 1939-43):

	Country	Death Rate	Country	Death Rate
1.	West Bengal	23.7	5. Ecuador	20.0
2.	Mexico	22.7	6. Rumania	19.0
3.	India	21.8	7. Spain	16.4
4.	Chile	21.2		

These seven countries are practically the regions of highest death rates in the world. And West Bengal happens to top the list.

In this context it is worthwhile to observe that 1943 was the worst year for the two Bengals or rather Undivided Bengal on account of the *Panchaser Manvantar* (Cataclysm of 1350 the Bengali equivalent of 1943 A.D.).

The *Manvantar*, cataclysm (tremendous famine as well as deaths due to famine) did away with 3—5,000,000 human beings. This famine, be it observed, was hardly economic, *i.e.*, due to absence or scarcity of food products. It was rather deliberately and planfully brought about by the General Staff of the United Kingdom as a war measure against the advancing *Azad Hind Fauj* (Indian National Army) of Netaji (Field Marshal) Subhas Bose who was in alliance with the Japanese Empire and Nationalist-Revolutionary Burma. The British Empire considered it expedient to destroy every possible source of food and transport in pursuance of the "scorched earth" policy. This was known in India as the "denial of facilities to the enemy." Subhas Bose and the Indian National Army, as eventual liberators of Bengal from the retreating British Army, were to be presented with a grainless, boatless, and drugless Bengal. It belonged to the British Empire strategy to leave a famished, hungry, sick, and dying people of sixty millions in the hands of Subhas Bose. The people of Bengal were expected automatically to revolt against the liberators or at any rate

to keep their hands tied to the problem of feeding, clothing, medicating and transporting the men, women and children from day to day.

The result of "the denial of facilities" to the advancing nationalists was an unprecedented havoc on human lives in West as in East Bengal. The death rate of West Bengal for 1943 was consequently a very weighted one.

All the same the "scorched earth policy," the *Manvantar*, the famine and the deaths were not exclusively responsible for the mortality 23.7 per thousand inhabitants in West Bengal during the quinquennium 1939-43. India's rate of 21.8 indicates a generally more or less uniform height for the entire subcontinent. With the due that should be accorded to the calamitous famine we may take 21 as the somewhat common norm for Latin American Chile and India (comprising West Bengal). Thus considered there is but one country in the world that can beat West Bengal, and this is Mexico in Latin America. The two European regions, Rumania with 19 and Spain with 16.4 are substantially below this rate, although quite high for the general Eur-American standard in mortality.

For instance, some of these death rates are as follows (for 1943):

1	Holland	8.6	9	U. K.	12.2
2	Newzealand	9.2	10	Czechoslovakia	13.3
3	Canada	9.7	11	Bulgaria	13.4
4	Australia	9.9	12	Italy	13.4
5	Denmark	10.1	13	Belgium	13.9
6	Norway	10.2	14	Ireland	14.2
7	U. S. A.	10.6	15	Austria	15.3
8	Sweden	11.5	16	France	15.6

The West Bengal or All-Indian average for the quinquennium 1939-43 is not to be compared with these rates for the single year 1943. But it shows us to what heights in the matter of control of deaths the European countries have risen. In the matter of control of deaths West Bengal, nay, India as well as Pakistan, have an enormous problem. In case Holland's 8.6, nay, France's 15.6 be set as the ideal, West Bengal with 23.7 (or, say, 21) will have before her a target of vital statistics which should appear to be virtually inaccessible. This furnishes one of the most fundamental socio-economic data for West Bengal so far as man-power is considered.

The Death-Conquerors of the World

West Bengal is now a part of a Dominion. It is therefore time for us Bengalis and other Indians to attempt catching up with the Dominions like Australia and Canada in modern spirituality, civiliza-

tion and efficiency. In population strength West Bengal is, as we have seen, in a sense one of the largest countries of the world. But in quality and achievements this man-power is one of the lowest by the world-standard, although it is not inferior to any throughout Bharatvarsha comprising India as well as Pakistan.

The greatest achievement of modern mankind is to be found in the decline of the death rate. In ancient Hindu medical and social literature the expectation of life was declared to be one hundred years. That was certainly a pious wish. The conquest of death was the motto set before Hindu children. *Mrityunjayi* (death-conqueror) was the ideal of men and women. The ideal has been realized to a considerable extent in virtually every country of Europe and in all the Dominions.

The death rates of New Zealand, Canada and Australia are between 9 and 10 per 1000 inhabitants. There is hardly any country of Europe where the death rate is above 16. Rumania with 19 happens virtually to be an exception. But in West Bengal as indeed in All-India (1939-43) the death rate is 22—24. The Dominions as well as Europe have grown into earthly paradises, so to say. Examined by the objective and positive indices of International vital statistics they have thereby become the pioneers of a new spirituality. It is for West Bengal as for the rest of India to attempt establishing these paradises of low mortality in our midst and spiritualizing the people with this new achievement.

The Zones Of High Infant Mortality in the two Hemispheres

Quite a flood of light is thrown on the situation from an examination of the infant mortality rates. From the five-year averages (1939-43) of the 14 districts in West Bengal we get 160.9 (161) deaths per 1000 births during the first year of existence.[4] Let us place this rates in the table of more or less approximate or neighbouring rates as exhibited by diverse countries of the two Hemispheres.

For 1939-43 the table of infant mortality rates for certain demographic peers of West Bengal is indicated below:[5]

	Country	Infant Mortality		Country	Infant Mortality
1.	Chile	206	7.	Portugal	132
2.	West Bengal	161	8.	Spain	124
3.	Columbia	153	9.	Hungary	123
4.	Equador	146	10.	Peru	123
5.	Ceylon	145	11.	Mexico	121
6.	Bulgaria	132	12.	Venezuela	120

[4] *Stat. Abst., West Bengal*, 1947, pp. 27-28.

[5] *Monthly Bulletin*, April, 1948, pp. 26-27.

Chile in Latin America tops the list with 206 deaths per 1000 births during the first year of the living-born.

West Bengal is second to Chile although considerably behind. Columbia, Equador, Peru, Mexico and Venezuela are some of the countries of Latin America that belong to the group, which happens to be the zone of highest infant mortality. The only European countries of this pattern are Portugal with 132, Spain with 124 and Hungary with 123. The socio-sanitary conditions of these 12 regions constitute by all means a menace to human civilization.

The standard of civilization may be said to be set by another group of countries which are exhibited below:

	Country	Infant Mortality		Country	Infant Mortality
1.	New Zealand	31	9.	Denmark	58
2.	Holland	34	10.	Canada	61
3.	Norway	37	11.	France	64
4.	Australia	38	12.	Ireland	66
5.	Sweden	39	13	Austria	73
6.	Switzerland	43	14.	Belgium	82
7.	U. S.	48	15.	Italy	97
8.	U. K.	53	16.	Czechoslovakia	98

In these sixteen countries there is a great difference between New Zealand's 31 and Czechoslovakia's 98. But so far as West Bengal is concerned even Czechoslovakia's 98 is much too high a target for the region exhibiting as it does 161.

"Aunts' Homes" in Latin America

In infant mortality as in general death rate West Bengal's man-power, like that of All-India is on a par with that of some Latin American countries. That is why, generally speaking, Latin American countries may be regarded as some of the *Mashi-baris* (maternal aunts' homes) of Indian peoples.

New Zealand with 31, Australia with 38, Canada with 61, France with 64, Austria with 73, Czechoslovakia with 98 are all much too above West Bengal and India generally in this respect. It will be long before the man-power of the Indian Union or of entire Bharatvarsha can think of enjoying spiritual parity with the Dominions or the European regions and the U. S. A.

The Achievements of Small Nations

In order to realize the ideal of *mrityunjayi* or death-conqueror the Dominions as well as the U. S. A. and Europe have been bes-

towing brains and bullion in large proportions on the sanitary and public health services, *i.e.*, the prevention (as contrasted with the cure) of diseases during the last two generations. These services are independent of and different from medical care, hospitalization, dispensary activities and so forth. West Bengal's or India's positive equality with the Dominions, U. K., France, Germany, U. S. A. and so forth cannot be a question of practical politics until and unless preventive medicine acquires a prominence in our culture, patriotism and public finance.

With the object of mastering the spiritual science or art of the conquest of death, West Bengal like the rest of India will have to practise discipleship with the new death-conquering institutes and movements of Australia, Canada and their peers in a goalful manner for quite a number of years. No problem before the man-power of West Bengal as a limb of Dominion India is more serious than this one of manufacturing *mrityunjayis* or death-conquerors in large numbers.

The patriots of West Bengal have need likewise to cultivate intimacy with the smaller countries of the world. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and so forth are the regions which although relatively small in population strength are really great powers in sanitation, culture and efficiency. Bengalis and Indians generally should cease to get obsessed by "great powers like the U. K., Germany, the U. S. A., France, etc., and divert their attention to a considerable extent to the achievements of these small nations, which are almost invariably as high as if not higher than those of the former. And yet we must be realistic and sensible enough to understand that it will not be a question of practical politics for quite a long time to think of catching up with these small countries in matters of public health, expectation of life and other items of man-power.

Land-Supply Per Family

Next to health and physical vitality the most crucial consideration in connection with the man-power of West Bengal is its material subsistence. The land-supply per head of population or per family is the dominant question in this regard.

The 13 districts of West Bengal possess 12.6 million acres of land divided as follows:[6]

[6] *Questionnare of the Agrarian Reforms Committee* and *Replies thereto* (Government of West Bengal, Land and Revenue Department, 1948), p. 13.

1.	Cultivated area	9·8 million acres
2.	Cultivable waste	2·8 ,, ,,
		12·6.

The following table exhibits the cultivated area of the West Bengal districts (in million acres):

1.	Midnapur	2·0	8.	Nabadwip	0·6
2.	Twenty-four Parganas	1·4	9.	Malda	0·5
3.	Murshidabad	0·9	10.	Jalpaiguri	0·5
4.	Burdwan	0·8	11.	Hooghly	0 5
5.	Bankura	0.8	12.	Howrah	0·2
6.	Birbhum	0·8	13.	Jessore	0·1
7.	West Dinajpur	0·7			

The distribution of cultivable wastes in the same thirteen districts is as follows (in million acres):

1.	Midnapur	0·7	8.	Murshidabad	0·2
2.	Bankura	0·4	9.	Malda	0·1
3.	Twenty-four Parganas	0·3	10.	West Dinajpur	0·1
4.	Jalpaiguri	0·3	11.	Hooghly	0·09
5.	Nabadwip	0·2	12.	Howrah	0·03
6.	Birbhum	0·2	13.	Jessore	0·03
7.	Burdwan	0·2			

From the above two tables it is possible to get the percentage of cultivable but uncultivated waste to the total area. These percentages for the thirteen districts are given below:

1.	Jalpaiguri	37	8.	Murshidabad	18
2.	Bankura	33	9.	Twenty-four Parganas	17
3.	Midnapur	25	10.	Hooghly	17
4.	Nabadwip	25	11.	Malda	16
5.	Jessore	23	12.	Howrah	13
6.	Burdwan	20	13.	West Dinajpur	12
7.	Birbhum	20			

For entire West Bengal 22·2 per cent is then the uncultivated but cultivable waste. This proportion should indicate the target such as economic planning many reasonably set before itself.

Less than 2 Acres Per Family in two-thirds of West Bengal

We shall now deal with some of the indices of poverty such as lie on the surface.

The cultivated area per family of agriculturists in 12 districts of West Bengal is indicated below (in acres):[7]

[7] *Ibid*, p. 14.

1.	Jalpaiguri	8·74	7.	Twenty-four Parganas	5·43
2.	West Dinajpur	7·48	8.	Murshidabad	5·41
3.	Malda	6·89	9.	Midnapur	4·82
4.	Bankura	6·48	10.	Nadia	4·46
5.	Burdwan	6·14	11.	Hooghly	4·45
6.	Birbhum	6·02	12.	Howrah	3·10

The family average is the highest in Jalpaiguri (8.74 acres) and the lowest in Howrah (3.10 acres). But the number of families possessing less than 2 acres is very large. The percentage of families belonging to this category is indicated below, district by district:

1.	Twenty-four Parganas	56·5	7.	Hooghly	32·7
2.	Malda	54·2	8.	Burdwan	28·6
3.	Bankura	53·7	9.	West Dinajpur	24·2
4.	Howrah	53·2	10.	Nadia	16·8
5.	Murshidabad	38·3	11.	Birbhum	15·1
6.	Midnapur	38·2	12.	Jalpaiguri	5·3

In Howrah, Bankura, Malda and Twenty-four Parganas more than 50 per cent of the agricultural families possess each less than 2 acres. Of the remaining districts, Burdwan, Hooghly, Midnapur and Murshidabad are regions where more than 25 per cent of the agricultural families are in the same condition. Even without intensive analysis these eight districts may be regarded as zones of poverty (in acreage) per agricultural family.

Families (agricultural) possessing each 5—10 acres of land may be regarded as somewhat substantial. Their percentages are as follows, district by district:

1.	Jalpaiguri	32·2	7.	Murshidabad	16·9
2.	West Dinajpur	28·8	8.	Malda	15·9
3.	Nadia	20·3	9.	Burdwan	12·8
4.	Hooghly	18·8	10.	Twenty-four Parganas	10·9
5.	Midnapur	17·6	11.	Bankura	10·3
6.	Howrah	17·5	12.	Birbhum	8·2

Prosperity as embodied in an agricultural family command over 5-10 acres is very little distributed in the districts of West Bengal. Jalpaiguri appears to be the most prosperous district from this standpoint. And even this does not exhibit a higher percentage than 32·2. Less than one-third of all the agricultural families in Jalpaiguri possess each 5—10 acres of land.

Landless Labourers More Than 30 Per Cent in Six Districts

Agricultural labourers constitute a substantial portion of the population in West Bengal.[8] The percentage of those families which live mainly or entirely as agricultural labourers is indicated below:

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

1. Murshidabad	40·8	7. Midnapur	24·9
2. Burdwan	40·0	8. Bankura	24·6
3. Malda	39·8	9. Hooghly	24·3
4. Birbhum	37·6	10. West Dinajpur	23·5
5. Nadia	36·1	11. Twenty-four Parganas	17·3
6. Howrah	31·2	12. Jalpaiguri	4·1

Agricultural labourers are virtually all landless. More than 60 per cent of the agricultural families are such landless labourers in six districts, *e.g.*, Howrah, Nadia, Birbhum, Malda, Burdwan and Murshidabad.

Wanted Internal Colonization

Studies in acreage as available to agricultural families in the districts of West Bengal demonstrate three fundamental facts, bearing on poverty. First, the acreage available per agricultural family is small. Secondly, landless families are many. In the third place, a very large percentage (22·2) remains yet to be brought under cultivation. These facts or indices of poverty are independent of the question of fertility or yield per acre. One of the most urgent problems in economic development is then to be found in that of redistribution of lands. It is to be effected in such a manner that landless families be endowed with "economic" holdings and that small holders may be enabled to expand their holdings to an adequate extent.

It is only by the Government that such redistributions and reallocations or resettlements can be consummated. The operations are to be conducted district by district and with consummate tact as well as reasonable equity and humanitarian considerations.

Large-scale schemes of *innere Kolonisierung* (internal colonization) will have to be embarked upon in order to establish the manpower of West Bengal on a somewhat secure footing. Improvement of cultivation by scientific and technological methods as well as the material advancement of the country through industrial and other ways and means are of course to be envisaged as pre-conditions or concomitants of the general economico-cultural ecology.

KAUTILYA

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[This paper is an impression. An impression of the works of a very comprehensive and controversial political thinker. The ideas discussed herein are those attributed to Kautilya, and taken from the *Arthasastra*. It is realized that there is a good deal of debate as to whether the work had a single author or not, and as to the exact date of the work. However for the purpose of this short paper it has been assumed to be his writing, and of the fourth century B. C. It really matters little, for it is the ideas that are important.

Because the discussion is an impression of the Arthasastra, there has been no reference to footnotes, all the ideas indicated having come from that work. Because of the vastness of the ideas studied, this paper treats them necessarily brief and arbitrarily.]

In any survey of political thought there is the never ending controversy between the practical realistic way and the idealistic theoretical way. Maybe this statement should be modified, because it might be that it is the Western world that likes to interpret attitudes as opposing extremes. For the idealist might argue that but for men like John Locke who step a pace forward and present an ideal, nations such as the United States might not be—while on the other hand the realist might argue that John Locke was merely expressing a concensus of opinion that was already felt in his times by the Levelers and the Diggers. Now the actual instance might have been that John Locke was stepping a pace forward, but that in doing so he was representing a certain body of group opinion—and that as a result, the American Revolution was not possible until it was to the advantage of all elements of the society—the frontiersmen as well as the aristocrats. This brings the point to the fore that advance in society—or rather political evolution is a balance between the extremes—the realist pushes a bit, then the idealist, and society moves on.

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I cite this continual debate because it is extremely important in this atomic era when the world is struggling with how to unite itself before it splits at the seams. It would seem to this writer that it might be extremely apropos in adjusting ones mind on the subject to examine certain thinkers who have been concerned with uniting great areas, and more specifically a thinker who represented a unusual middle position between the extremes of practical realism and idealistic ethical theory. A man who was a believer in material joys and aspirations, and who yet did not go to extremes, his idea was really a compromise or a modern synthesis of the two extreme views of life and its aims. And quite naturally such a man who did represent part of both extremes, is in the midst of a great controversy because he is the crux of attack from both sides.

Now I am speaking specifically of the thinker and political statesman Kautilya (Chanakya or Vishnugupta) who played an important part in India around the fourth century B. C. From a comparative point of view Kautilya is an extremely fascinating individual. He lived in a chaotic period which pleaded for a unity of the vast area of India, and acting as chief minister to Chandragupta, he succeeded through his ideas to unite the area under the mauryan dynasty. Similarly in China in 221 B.C., a unity came out of chaos because of the ideas of another thinker, Shang Yang, who was the chief minister to Chin Shih Huang Ti, the first Emperor of China united under the Ch'in dynasty. Likewise in Italy around 1494, Niccoli Machiavelli was also concerned with a unity of Italy and exerted his influence as a minister, but failed to see his realization when the return of the medici drove him from his influential post. Thus through the curious coincidence that history provides there were three thinkers and political statesmen who each had an unbending sense of achieving unity in their vast countries, each in a position of influence though not rulers, each the author of a work on the practical realm of ruling and achieving a unified empire—one of which failed in his goal (Machiavelli), one of which succeeded only temporarily (Shang Yang—who after 18 years saw the Ch'in replaced by the Han dynasty), and one who succeeded in his aspirations (Kautilya).

All three of these individuals have since their time been the subject of great attack, because they laid bare the methods of governing. Their ideas were giving to politics an assured and scientific basis, traating them as having a proper and distinct value of their own entirety. Machiavelli and Shang Yang have been especially

attacked because of the complete lack of ethical concept in their ideas. Kautilya has borne the brunt from both sides. Now I am not here defending these thinkers necessarily, but I am concerned with their ideas as they relate in context, placing emphasis on Kautilya and citing Shang Yang Machiavelli where interesting and appropriate. This is a necessary approach because the very completeness of the views of Kautilya make similar ideas of Machiavelli and Shang Yang appear as but paragraphs here and there from a great complete book.

Kautilya's concept of the nature of the state easily indicates the extreme thoroughness of his thought. Like the modern accepted definition of a state he felt that a state had three elements, people, a definite territory, and an organised government (a ruler and a code of laws). However he felt that the duty of the government—the ruler—did not end in the protection of life and property only. Its further purpose was to help the individual in self-realization, and as such it must be founded on a strong economic basis. Strong enough to be capable of accommodating and supporting the people, to enable man to realize the aims of life, to lessen the struggles of existence at home, to lessen dependence of the community on the outside world, to be in a position to help other sections of humanity in distress and thereby ensure an existence conducive to the happiness of man in this life and paving the happiness of man to a brighter one beyond. This sense of a state certainly presents a concept of organized society as a social welfare state directed towards the aims of the self realization of man—certainly an extremely modern concept. His state was in its ends and functions an economic state—a repository of resources for the common good to be distributed to the subjects by the ruler with fatherly care. This was a point of major difference with Machiavelli, for he had said that if men were to be allowed to pursue their satisfactions they would be calculating.

Kautilya believed that the reigns of government should be entrusted to a single sovereign—the king, with certain royal prerogatives of being the embodiment of all authority, and at the same time holding a tremendous responsibility to the welfare of the people. In a very definite sense his state was a state of totality, and as such impinged on all aspects of life. Nonetheless it was not a state of totality in the sense that Shang Yang visualized the state. To Shang Yang the aim of the state was to unify, and in doing so, if necessary, to make the people as weak and as simple in their interests as possible. Thus there was a tremendous difference between the two thinkers, for Kautilya was concerned with unity, but for the benefit of the

ruled. Machiavelli, the other political realistic thinker, occupied a s slightly different position—he believed in a democratic republic when possible, but he advocated an ultimate reliance on despotic totalitarian ruler to maintain the unity of the state.

The key in all three was to achieve this unity, for in unity lies strength, in strength power, and in power survival. If necessary to survive Shang Yang was willing to reduce the people of the society to simple single-minded mass. Machiavelli was willing to sacrifice all to despotic authority if necessary to maintain the imperative of cohesiveness, Kautilya on the other hand believed not only in a totality to survive, but that the totality could not suruive unless it considered the parts of the totality, and therefore the state must concern itself with the welfare of the people—because true unity exists in a people who are free from fear—fear of survival.

Any state of totality is a state of regulation, administrative processes to regulate, to organize, to rule. It is here that a good comparison between Kautilya, Machiavelli and Shang Yang can be more accurately made, for such a total state rewards virtue and punishes wrong. I think that the insight of Machiavelli and Shang Yang was not as deep as that perceived by Kautilya. Shang Yang and Machiavelli believed that everything must be done to prevent the development of individuals, that war should be used as an instrument of public policy to maintain a common interest—thus stagnating individualism (that the people should be weak, the state strong). They believed like some of the Fascist thinkers such as Vico who felt that there should be no individualism—no social contract between the ruler and the people. Now I do not mean to imply that Kautilya believed in a social contract, for I doubt if he did. However he penetrated further in his conclusions, to the point that people could develop within their minds, while maintaining a common external interest. I think that this was a sense of individualism developed within a soul, instead of within outward actions—and it might be that the success of the ideas of Kautilya was due to this perception.

The discussions of the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya describe the organization of the state to achieve the above indicated ends in a detail almost unbelievable. There were four objects of Government according to him. The first was to 'obtain the kingdom', that is to unify the immediate area, and if necessary in doing so to resort to force—as Mark Twain said in "Pudd'in-head Wilson", 'In statesmanship get the formalities right, but never mind the moralities'. The second object was to preserve what had been acquired, and this involved the

great administrative machinery, of which we shall discuss momentarily. Third, there must be done what was proper to increase and protect what had been gained and this by further conquest. Lastly there must be proper enjoyment of what had been gained. A great difference from Shang Yang who felt that government was only in existence to enforce law, law being inconceivable without force.

There were seven constituent elemnts to a state of such a government, according to Kautilya. First, there was the king or ruler, the source of authority exercising sovereignty. Second, the ministers who advised the ruler, and who ran the many facets of the bureaucracy. Thirdly, the subjects settled in the kingdom who had certain responsibilities and were subject of the benefits of the paternal organization. Fourthly, the fortifications, and fifth the offensive and defensive forces that ensured the security of the realm. Sixth, the treasury which obtained the funds which maintained the state. These six elemnts constituted the well organized body politic of a state as visualized by Kautilya. To this was added a seventh element-allies—who contributed to the safety of the kingdom by maintaining the political equilibrium.

The king was responsible for the interests of the people, administering, providing security, punishing the wrong, rewarding the virtues —he imports the quality to the state. As such he was the embodiment of all authority—a sort of divine ruler, for he was to take his authority from the essence of the maxims of cosmical order, law of the universe. It was neither the will of the multitude, nor merely the expression of social will—but a universal law. It was from this that the king derived his authority, and in the spirit indicated earlier in the paper, he ruled the state.

It should be mentioned here that in his discussion of the king and his actions, Kautilya covers everything from the duty of being mindful of an unceasing fight against lust, avarice, pride, anger, drunkenness and insolence—the six enemies of the monarch; against four chief temptations, hunting, gambling, drink and women. There are even descriptions of his household in such minutia as "having cleaned their person and hands by fresh bath and put on newly washed garments, servants in charge of dresses and toilets shall serve the king with dresses and toilets received under seal from the officer in charge of the harem". Even the daily schedule of the king was laid out into sixteen parts during each which the king had certain functions to perform. Chief states was put also on the protection of the king from enemies.

In chief the concept of the regal duties and functions were eight in number. It was to protect the life and property of the subjects, to impart justice with impartiality, to promote agriculture and industry by active help, to promote the prosperity of industrial and productive trade channels, to encourage education, to protect the people from the 'tyrannies of capitalists', to maintain widows, orphans, the sick, and to save peoples in times of emergency, and to in no way interfer in the social or religious matters of the people. To effectuate such overall functions this required a tremendous administrative regulatory process. How different were the ideas from those of Shang Yang, who felt that the government should regulate in order to prohibit the people from becoming powerful, or Machiavelli who desired rogulation for efficiency.

As envisaged by Kautilya the king of course headed the governmental organization. There was a Central Executive Council composed of the king and his most trusted advisers which formulated overall policies, in conjunction with Consulative Bodies (of experts). The main administrative functions were carried on by the various Departments of the Central Government. There were a multitude of these Departments, headed by Superintendents, sounding like a roll call of Soviet commissars, there were Superintendents of Ocean Mines, of Regulating Trade in Courtesans, of Weights and Measure, of Measurement of Space and Time, of Passports, of the Armoury, of Weaving, of Pasture Lands, and many more too numerous to mention.

Before pursuing the general policies of the administration recommended by Kautilya it might be of interest to examine what he had to say about one of these Departments. Department of Ships, for example, was to be concerned with the regulation and examination of all accounts relating to navigation not only on oceans, and mouths of rivers, but also on lakes, natural or artificial, and to rivers in the vicinity of all fortified cities. More specifically the Kautilya laid down the amount of tax for villages on seashores and banks of rivers or lakes; fishing licenses as one sixth of the haul; sailing fees for passengers on the king's boats; regulations for transit of individuals such that punishments were laid down for illegal crossings, and also all ferrying fees. It was even the duty of the Superintendent of Ships to "make good the loss caused by any loss of a boat due to the the heavy load, sailing in improper time or place, want of a ferryman, or lack of repair."

In general the policies of the state in regard to land (in the economic sense) were: First, the state actively worked towards

the formation of new colonies as an outlet for emmigration from populated areas—in these areas the state actually owned the land, and leased it out, maintaining strict control over it, so that the land would revert to its control if it were not properly cultivated. Incidentally it is a very fascinating section of the Arthasastra with reference to those new colonies, they required a multitude of regulations, the ground was graded according to its productiveness, wild lands and elephant forests were preserved. Cities in such were to to be located in strategic locations. And an interesting comparision can be made with city planning suggestions of Aristotle, when Kautilya states that " streets and gates should be properly adapted for different classes of traffic, with a secret way for rapid exit in case of emergency."

There was to be a state monopoly of mining and commerce in mining products, very similar to the Maxican provisions of a similar nature. All such enterprises were either owned directly by the government or leased under license—here the analogy can be made to the ownership provisions of the Majority Plan of the Atomic Energy Commission. The forests were to be owned and controlled by the government.

In reference to production and manufacturing the policy of the government was to own and manage various industries. The Superintendent of Agriculture was to supervise the cultivation, irrigation, and manuring in all parts of the country. Whether this is to be restricted to governmental control of agricultural public works, such as Shang Yang visualised, Kautilya is not clear. The manufacturing of all metals, copper, lead, tin, mercury, brass, bronze, arsenic, and by-products was to be supervised. There was to be a government monopoly on salt, and persons other than hermits manufacturing salt without license were prosecuted. In fact there were penalties for adulteration of salt. Many other industries were supervised, there were to be state owned operations, joint facilities with private enterprise, and even productive associations financed by state credit.

Trade and Commerce were to be supervised not only to provide internal markets for the sale of state manufactured articles, but also to open facilities for their sale in foreign markets and countries. In this connection it is of interest to note that though the state took adequate steps for the realization of profits by the sales of these government produced commodities it was to be the policy to take care that no hardship was felt by the people of the country. The government was to run all shipping services. It regulated prices and profits and prosecuted market 'cornering' or trust systems. In

reference to fixing prices and profits. Kautilya says that the Superintendent of Commerce should not act arbitrary, but pay due regard to all considerations of outlay, the quality of manufacture, the amount of toll, the interest, and other kinds of accessory expenses involved. As a safeguard against cheating the state of its just dues, commodities were never to be sold where they were grown or manufactured, or before they were precisely weighed and measured. The state was also to be a sort of modern insurance agency, and to thus encourage trade and commerce. In fact the state was even to assume responsibility for all things lost to thieves by merchants, because it was the duty of the state and its responsibility to protect.

In relation to the regulation of labor, it was to be allowed a freedom of contract. Penalties were established for conspiring to lower the work quality of artisans and for failure to pay wages. Guilds, comparable in organization to present day unions were to be given concessions by the state however their franchises were to be limited to local organizations. It was indicated that there should be Arbitration and Conciliation Boards, for the settlement of strikes, for repressing tyrannies of employers and for contract fulfilments by employees. The state was even to undertake actions in certain instances to prevent lower bracket workers from being deprived of their wages by curbing local gambling and liquor establishments, and betting on sports.

The state was to assume the general duty to provide "subsistence for those who could not make a living" thus the people would be able to "anticipate the hour of sickness and incapacity without anxiety" and face old age with confidence. Tremendous steps were indicated to prevent the spreading of epidemics, burning contaminated buildings, etc. There were to be considerable public works to maintain sanitation and related matters.

In controlling capital, the state regulated interest rates, scrutinizing the nature of all transactions between debtors and creditors "for on this the welfare of the kingdom depends". In fixing the rate of interest due regard was to be paid to the risks involved, the rates then to be varied accordingly. A point of great political importance was indicated in that in the case of national calamities, the state after doing all that is in its power, is directed by Kautilya, to distribute the hoarded income of the rich among the distressed population. Thus the policy of thinning the rich by excessive taxation was not unknown and was to be resorted to in the extreme case.

The local areas—the village communities were to have a degree of self government. In fact Kautilya, in the Indian tradition, wanted then to continue their local autonomy. They were to constitute a number of little republics with certain immunities from central governmental interference.

To run a community as described by Kautilya required tremendous revenues and there were provisions for the taxing of most things. though there were to be certain immunities for Brahmans. Kautilya goes into great detail on the financial side of administration, with a great stress on the method as well as the matter of official reports, even to the detail of the proper composition of the reports. The raising of revenue made necessary an extensive and comprehensive system of inspection. Gold, jewels, rates of interest, food, slaughterhouses, cloth, all were to be inspected, for standardization, weights and measurements, and adulterations. Even the employees were to be checked for laziness, which had a penalty.

No state of totality could do without a tremendous legal organization, and this is the point on which a good deal of comparision between Kautilya and Machiavelli and Shang Yang might be made. The legal system of Kautilya is characterised by its severity and its completness. I doubt though that it was as severe as Shang Yang concieved law; to Shang Yang law was to be an expression of force, and severe enough to make man fear punishment, and thus have an ordered society. The system as described by Kautilya is probably the first attempt at codification, and is so complete few matters escape its juridical eye. There were four kinds of legal process, sacred law, customs, contracts, and statutory (royal) enactments. The courts were to consider everything immaginable from speeding in a bullock wagon to marriages, vagrancy, defamation, elopement, robbery, assult, divorces, inheritance, debts, and punishments for many crimes. The punishments, seem cruel and ruthless beyond reason to the present generations, there are described 14 kinds of 'common' torture and 18 kinds of 'superior' sort—they ranged from whipping, mutilation, execution, to 'cooking in a copper vessel'.

Even witnesses to a crime were subject to punishments. However for all the severity and completeness of the system there were many functions directed towards protecting the innocent. Persons who charged an innocent man with a crime, or who conceal a crime were liable to the punishment of the crime. On the other hand if after investigation of a crime it appears that the accused is guilty, he is to be tortured until he confesses. In the defence in an investigation if

the accused proves that the compliant has an enmity or hatred toward the accused, he is to be acquitted. As a rule guilt was to he established by evidence, and tested as to references and circumstances. "When there are no such evidences and when the accused is wailing much, he shall be regarded as innocent". Certainly the severity of the judgements and punishments give a respect to the law, though it is not as severe as envisaged by Shang Yang.

The police systems are advocated by Kautilya to protect the kingdom. He advocates a system of watching the conduct of the subjects, as well as the officials and to punish those guilty—this will "tend to prevent quarrels between subjects, oppression by officers and courtiers, and seditious propaganda." The institution of espionage is mentioned as "the life blood of the government", a means to "ascertain the purity or impurity in the conduct of all subjects", sounds like the secret police of the modern era. There is a very close parallel here between Machiavelli, Shang Yang and Kautilya.

In discussing the important functions of the state in Foreign Affairs, the *Arthasastra*, discusses such a variety of things as the nature of alliances, neutrality, concluding treaties and of proclaiming war. A six-fold method of policy is described as, Entente, War, Equilibrium (power balance), Expedition (invading forces, armies and fifth columns), the Alliance, and Double Relations (playing one against another). Other states are classified as either weaker, stronger, or of equal strength, and policies were laid out accordingly in each case. Many methods are mentioned to deceive ones enemies, he was a first rate expert on espionage. Much of this discussion sounds like Machiavelli, that "a Prince being thus obliged to know well how to act as a beast must imitate the fox and the lion". Kautilya regarded these deceiving policies justified as it was the king's foremost duty to protect the state. As he said "even when a king acts without swerving from the righteous path and the country prospers, the neighboring princes are likely to get jealous and may begin to harbor inimical feelings and take to unfair ways of preventing him from ruling properly. That being so it is impossible for a king to get on without being harassed by others without himself harassing them or taking counter measures against opponents".

Hence it is legimate for a king to be well acquainted with all sorts of foul practices to enable him to ward off his enemies, even by war. Thus Kautilya justifies war for security, whereas Shang Yang used war to control his own population, as did Machiavelli who said that "war is the health of the state". Several books of the

Arthasastra are devoted to the organisations of war—infantry, cavalry, methods of sieges, fortifications, even descriptions of a sport of Red Cross. There are descriptions of elaborate spy systems, cold blooded estimates, of enemies, arms and economical resources. Various methods are described in order to proceed against stronger enemies, such as sowing discord between allies, for alliances, political assassinations and all such as would outdo the tactics of Hitler, even to the employment of wizardry.

A very interesting section is devoted to the various methods of conquering a people, and there is a general discussion on handling a conquered country. The destruction of the reputations of the ousted governments if stressed, sounds almost like the charges of 'crimes against humanity' made at the Nuremburg Trials. There are discussions of the attitudes of a conquered people, which are very interesting to meditate on in reference to Germany and Japan.

In conclusion I might say that much can be learned from this work of Kautilya, much is to be condemned, his brutality, his elaborate spying systems, and all, but that may have well been a product of his day and age. Whereas Shang Yang and Machiavelli in their similar realistic appraisals of ruling ruthlessly suggested steps to reduce the population to a common element to control, Kautilya realized in such a total state this action would have to be counteracted in finding an outlet for human energies or else, the state would degenerate. This he attempted to do through encouraging the arts and education, as well as non-interference in the religious and social customs of the people. I think that this is a very appropriate work to consider in our day. For it is in our world of the moment that the nations all over are increasing the social welfare activities. In doing this they run the risk that an overemphasized sense of equality will destroy liberty. Thus the problem of a progressing society seems to be the problem of balancing an increased infringement on the rights of man with discovering new outlets for man's energies to preserve his individualism and resultant initiative, upon which the virility of the society depends.

It might appear that Kautilya was an unreasonable man, I rather doubt this, but even if that mere so, I think it is as Bernard Shaw said *via* his John Tanner, "the reasonable man conform to the world. The unreasonable man expects the world to conform to him. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man". Certainly Kautilya made his world conform to his ideas, and it resulted in a

unity of India, which resulted in innumerable benefits to the whole of humanity.

It is entirety, the *Arthasastra* presents the organization and policies for a total state—but a state with an ideal, ethical ideal, for the benefit of the society. Who knows whether his way was right or wrong for as Xenophanes said, "the certain truth there is no man who knows nor ever shall be, about the gods and all the things whereof I speak. Yea, even if a man should chance to say something utterly right still he himself knows it not—there is nowhere anything but guessing." Kautilya's was no creed of pessimism, nor of shadowy unrealities, but a faith in life with a prospect of a brilliant future for a good done in the present.

Certainly for every student of political thought, he should be a required subject of investigation. For he provides a rich wealth of cultural background of India, a fascinating ground of material from comparative political viewpoint, as well as in the scope of public administration, and lastly his thoughts on unifying society, its problems, and his solutions is very appropriate for study in an atomic era—his is a living spirit.

SAROJINI NAIDU : A SINGER OF BEAUTIFUL SONGS

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John Keats has very beautiful lines:

When old age shall this generation waste
Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,
" Beauty is truth truth beauty,"—That is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need, to know.

These lines are taken from his *Ode on a Grecian Urn*. They contain a great philosophy. Many of us think of John Keats as merely sensuous, denied heights of philosophical thoughts. We have been infinitely fascinated by his luxurious line—" A Thing of beauty is a joy for ever." That line is full of luxury of sensuousness, taken away from the context. But if you fit in the line where it occurs the idea communicated is not of sensuous beauty or emotion. The idea is a truth by itself, which proclaims the intensity of his thought. The same truth we find in the lines above given. The burden is " Beauty is truth, truth Beauty." And then you have to remember that that is all that you require to know. Poets have sung of beauty but they seldom refer to truth that must be identical with beauty. Whenever they think of beauty they think in terms of sensuous beauty or emotion. In Keats you find beauty found in philosophy of truth or in pursuit of truth. Here you have something like spiritual intensity or consummation, generally associated with sages, living away from the crowd and its pursuits.

What is the idea? Beauty is our goal. We have to be face to face with it but we have to see in it the great truth. Then alone that beauty is a permanent experience, a thing of constant joy. There is beauty in truth which is a name for harmony. This is the great idea we gather upon intense consideration of John Keats' poetry. I have a similar feeling when I think of Sarojini Naidu's poetry. To my mind, she is a supreme singer of beautiful songs, songs bathed

in melody and thought. A supreme artist that she is, she is capable of creating a new and rich world of ideas fastening herself upon little themes. Remember that all themes are Indian, thoughts are Indian, melody is of India but the language is pure English, delicate and fine and sensuous. A very creditable synthesis, indeed ! She is two things, in the main : a supreme artist and a fine melodist with the background of an intense thinker. Her thinking may not be methodical. She is a poet, a being of emotions. And emotions lead her to splendour of thought and beauty. All this is quite in keeping with her profession which is that of a poet and an artist. She cannot begin with ideas. If she does there will be a suggestion that she is not a poet, nor an artist, who has to begin all compositions in supreme forgetfulness to catch the reality and something of perennial preciousness. Emotions first and last. And still when you think of her poems you find plenty of sacred and beautiful thought. That is her chief merit. With melody she has wedded mind. In the marriage of mind and melody you have a singer of eternally beautiful songs.

And little wonder that Sri Aurobindo praises her poetry as possessing " qualities which make her best work exquisite, unique and unmatchable in its kind." As one critic thinks (I mean Prof. V. N. Bhushan, who in course of his short introductory note on the poetry of Sarojini Naidu refers to her great qualities in his anthology " The Peacock Lute ") ' the festivals and faiths, the customs and traditions, the flowers and the bazars, the aspects and events of life, the fishers and the dancers, the palanquin-bearers and bangle-sellers—all these she writes of.' As you think of her themes you might think of meeting trifles in her poems. I have said that she is a great artist, and she has those qualities which transform little things, make them great and dignified, in fact, instruments of great thoughts, powerful enough to transport us with unlimited joy. Actually, she creates. Her descriptive powers are tremendous but more than those powers are her gifts for creation. And the result is this magnificence of of beauty and melody in her songs. One thiing more. There is an air of romance about what she writes. That is genuine poetry of something that is not entirely of this earth. Poetry has two functions to teach and delight through ideal imitation. These two functions her poetry performs and performs in a characteristic fashion. All the time she seems to sing, seems to be lost in the rapture of beauty, of songs and of words. But think there is thought, think there is

nothing that can be crossed out without taking something from the beauty of the song and also something from its meaning. She has words, apt and melodious and delicate. What more you want? She sings, she delights and she instructs, all the time. And then her poetry is ideal imitation. I call that imitation ideal because she is more than a representative poet, a genuine artist and a creator, who has a mission behind all her romance of words and ideas and images.

Here is an excellent example of her words, images and perpetual music. A little of reflection will point to a long string of ideas behind beautiful images,

> Lightly, O lightly, we bear her along,
>
> She sways like a flower in the wind of our song;
>
> She skims like a bird on the foam of a stream,
>
> She floats like a laugh from the lips of a dream.
>
> Gaily, O Gaily we glide and we sing,
>
> We bear her along like a pearl on a string.

What a perfection of music? And then to music there you find added wealth of new and captivating images. That is not all. There is a great idea behind. Think of the subject, whose picture here is in words and music. First thing to note is that it certainly a great delicacy, is borne lightly and in the wind of song. It must be beautiful and capable of exciting great intensity of melody and beautiful ideas. It might be associated with something intensely beautiful. What a great touch of lightness? It skims like a bird on the foam of a stream. It floats like a laugh and that too from the lips of a dream. Has a dream lips and can it laugh? Why not think of some beautiful person dreaming and laughing. And laughing why? The person must have got his or her love. And so this happy laugh. That is about what is inside it. But what is it? It is carried like a pearl on a string. The picture is complete, complete in outlines, emotions and associations. Say that is the song of "Palanquin-Bearers."

Now think of the sensitiveness of the poet What a little and mundane object ! And the reaction is this wealth of images and emotions and associations. This is wealth of the poet herself, who can give meaning and location to little airy things with such a gusto!

Softly, O softly we hear her along,
She hangs like a star in the dew of our song ;
She springs like a beam on the brow of a tide,
She falls like a tear from the eyes of a bride.

Imagination has been used, and used so marvellously. The palanquin is like a tear from the eyes of a bride, who is inside it. Why tears? The bride is going to meet her love. There can be tears, but tears bathed in unlimited joy and also indicative of the joy to follow. Indeed, a great idea behind the palanquin's becoming a tear from the eyes of the bride. All is suggestive of a great hope, hope of happiness. And the song of the palanquin-bearers suggests how happiness must be found in work, and still greater measure of it in the happiness of others.

Why are the palanquin-bearers happy? They are doing their work and carrying some weight. I say "weight" in the physical sense. Else there is no question of weight because the person inside is a great beauty, brimming with love and hope, unspeakable and unheard of. The palanquin-bearers are nevertheless happy because they have found their work. In work they have the blessing of God. Still you have another idea. And that idea, can make the entire world happy. *Find happiness in the happiness of others.* Happiness is personal. We have to agree there. But it is impersonal in the sense that it depends upon the happiness of others. Happiness is catching. You find others happy. You are yourself happy. There is this measure of happiness for the palanquin-bearers because they are aware of the happiness that is to come to the bride they are carrying so gaily and so softly in the wind of their song. Happiness makes their labour, labour of love. And little wonder that they think the palanquin and its load as a pearl on a string !

Think of the diction, words and images used to convey her emotions, and why not her ideas, rooted in humanity? There is no indication of efforts. All is spontaneous. One might say that the poet is writing in her mother-tongue. There is no evidence of straining. Such a galaxy of associations and images, communicated (one might say, painted) in beautiful words, is very creditable to an Indian writing in English. Real poetry must be sound and sense both. Lovers of sound, lovers of music, will declare her poetry all music, all emotion, which can soon transport or transform one who

gets into it and its rapture. Even those who look invariably to meaning behind sound (I am certainly with them) there is splendour of thought and of idealism, which is highly elevating and compelling. There is something of the other world, dreamy and thrilling. But behind all this, there is life, an entry into the complications of life, which can be imagined upon intense reflection in consequence of her songs.

This is a justification to call her poetry a " criticism of life." It is sensuous as all good poetry has to be ; more than that, it is serious as good poetry ought to be to be a real criticism of life There is no escape from life, as from emotions, for a genuine poet. Sarojini Naidu is verily a great poet, sensuous and serious both. Else who can think of her entry into active politics, who can think of her becoming Governor of a great province in such a time of crisis?

It is true that now as Governor she is like a bird in a cage. But she is doing her work in an excellent fashion. From her acts and speeches it is clear beyond a doubt that she has enough sense and profundity of thought. This is nothing new in her. Behind her music it is always possible to find great ideas, ideas that might ask us to think of her as a great thinker, thinking, it is true, through melodious words, images and emotions. Think of this song :

Where the voice of the wind calls our wandering feet,

Through echoing forest and echoing street,

With lutes in our hands ever-singing we roam,

All men are kindred, the world is our home.

Here is a song of wandering singers, wandering through forests and streets, endlessly singing their songs. What are these songs about? There is one theme, and that is of the fundamental unity of man throughout the world, from pole to pole. What is that unity? We have come from God and we have the divine essence. The truth is : there is one race all over the world and that is called the human race ; there is one blood and that is called the human blood. There is, thus, no occasion for differences. This is the song, put in the mouth of the wandering singers by the poet. Here the poet herself is out in her mission of converting the entire humanity to her way of thinking, the way of thinking that is bound to lead to peace and happiness and brotherhood. Here you have a serious thinker, who has the magic of words, sweet and delicate, and magic of images,

all familiar and yet captivating. This combination of seriousness with melody is her achievement. Who can think of poets in the presence of such a grandeur of thought as mere idlers, playing in the hands of emotions and sensuousness? Poets I maintain, can change our course of life. They can be great reformers. A reformer must have the power of feeling intensely and long. This poets possess and they are great reformers. Is it, then, wrong to think of our poet as the poet of the nation, a poet filled with unlimited patriotism that is synonymous with internationalism? Call that love of humanity. That love Sorojini Naidu has in plenty. And the result! Her words, they may be all emotion, are full of meaning and significance. They have the burden, of course, the pleasant burden, of sense, combined with rhythm. Naturally, her poetry instructs, delights and moves. Read it for a necessary preparation for a revolution. I might add—she has in this respect the same power which I associate with the poetry of her brother (Harindranath), the power to revolutionise.

Harindranath has rightly sung :

A poet wields a mighty power,
The nation cannot lose it :
Poets behold your singing hour
Has come and you must use it.

This is a call to poets. I have a feeling of a similar call made by Sarojini Naidu to poets in her poetry of splendour. In her same song of " Wandering Singers " she continues :

Our lays are of cities whose lustre is he,
The laughter and beauty of women long dead ;
The sword of old battles, the crown of old kings,
And happy and simple and sorrowful things.

Wandering singers, let us remember, are our own poets. They have to wander all the world over. Physically it might be impossible for them. Don't you know they have the great power of vision and imagination, which poets alone possess? Helped by their poetic vision they can cover the entire world. Are they not singers for entire

humanity ? Whenever we think of a very great poet like Shakespeare or Kalidas or Tagore, we have to say that he is a poet for entire humanity and for all times to come. About poets it has to be noted that they sing melodiously, perennially. In course of their life, their share of rain and sunshine, their extensive journey, physical or mental, they gather some great wisdom and this they communicate with the help of their melody. And so these singers sing of cities whose lustre is shed, of laughter and beauty of women long dead, of the sword of battles and crown of old kings, and of what not. Is this not entire life with all its complexities? Life today and yesterday and also tomorrow, that life is their theme. And so the Wandering Singers sing :

What hope shall we gather, what dreams shall we sow?
Where the wind calls our wandering footsteps we go.
No love bids us tarry, no joy bids us wait :
The voice of the wind is the voice of our fate.

The burden is the voice of fate and that is the voice of the wind. The wind is the hope of the world. That is to indicate the complete picture of conditions of present life. And so these singers have hope and dreams. Not a bad idea ! Here is something which is to assure us success in near future. We cannot tarry ; we cannot wait. Let us march and soon realise our dreams. Dreams are necessary ; they stimulate thinking and thinking is accompanied by action. Ultimately, the voice of fate resolves itself into this voice or call for action. We cannot stop till we have reached the goal. The goal is the revolution itself, a new way of life, full of happiness and comfort.

Sarojini Naidu sings and thinks simultaneously. What is the secret of this unique combination? The great thing about art is that it is consummated in moments of utter forgetfulness. What is this thinking along with singing melodiously for eternity? Sarojini has thought deeply, sensitively and captivatingly. Even when she sings she unfolds her great intensity of thought. But the great thing is that her thoughts appear all emotions and melody as you read them, sing them, or think of their associations. Here is a song of "Indian Weavers"

Weavers, weaving at break of day,
Why do you weave a garment so gay? . . .

Blue as the wing of a halcyon wild,

We weave the robes of a new-born child.

Read these lines over and over again. You have reinforcement of emotion and music. Words are sweetly arranged. And what of thoughts? You might not think of them at all. But just think. You have a great idea. The idea flashes as you progress through the song:

Weavers, weaving at fall of night,

Why do you weave a garment so bright? . . .

Like the plumes of a peacock, purple and green,

We weave the marriage-veils of a queen.

Weavers, weaving solemn and still,

What do you weave in the moonlight chill? . . .

White as a feather and white as a cloud,

We weave a dead man's funeral shroud.

A complete picture of life and man's happiness and sorrow on earth is visualised in this beautiful song that captures our attention. The break of day finds one happy. The weaver weaves something gay with a promise for future of brightness. There is the new-born child. Even fall of night finds one still farther in the journey towards happiness. There is the marriage-bell singing; there is the preparation for the marriage-veil. But what happens afterwards? The moonlight is chill; freshness and warmth are gone; the entire drama of man has been enacted and he is found no longer in the kingdom of living beings. He is beyond life and its joys. There is the dead man's white shroud. The race has been run; life's joys have been dried. This is the story communicated by this song of "Indian Weavers."

And this is Sarojini's idea in her songs, delightful as perfect emotion and thoughtful like the words of a philosopher, who has passed his life in converse with the world and yet who has not grown this worldly. Her songs have beauty that lives, and lives to instruct and delight. This beauty of her songs moves, and that too so magnificently!

O little mouse, why dost thou cry
While merry stars laugh in the sky?

Alas! Alas! my lord is dead!
Ah, who will ease my bitter pain?
He went to seek a millet-grain
In the rich farmer's granary shed;
They caught him in a baited share,
And slew my lover unaware . . .
Alas! Alas! my lord is dead.

Sing this song. There is an ordinary reference to a mouse whose life is ended because he is caught in a snare, all of a sudden. Now get to the idea. Life is full of accidents. We attach too much importance to life but it comes to an end quite suddenly, and what is left behind is a feeling of sadness. But that feeling of sadness must soon be over. Else there is none to console the sorrow-stricken. Consolation must come from within. Life without this consolation will be in vain. You might weep for some moments but soon this weeping and wailing should be over. Weeping is necessary as an outlet for grief but that has not to be practised long lest it should pass into our character and nature. That passing into our character and nature will be the end of our life and work on earth. This is not to be our aim. And this cannot be the aim of a reformer and a revolutionary in poetry. And so let us sing, think and move. And thus we should go onwards. Take life as it is. There is sadness in it. Feel it, experience it, and then come to its end. Let us then sing. And so this divine singer sings on, and singing goes on instructing delightfully for all time to come:

Cover mine eyes, O my love!
Mine eyes that are weary of bliss
As of light that is poignant and strong,
O silence my lips with a kiss,
My lips that are weary of song!

Shelter my soul, O my Love!
My soul is bent low with the pain
And the burden of love like the grace
Of a flower that is smitten with rain:
O shelter my soul from thy face!

There is ecstasy, excessive joy and bliss. And yet more of it. And so the course of life runs in hope and still more of hope. Here you have a profound message. The message is of insatiable desires. Also the hint is to ceaseless efforts. And if that message is taken there is a promise of all-round beauty on earth. That is also the message of Sarojini Naidu, a singer of beautiful songs and sweet thoughts.

RŪMĪ ON PRE-DESTINATION AND HUMAN WILL

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The famous Philosopher-poet Jalāluddīn Muḥammad BalKhī, more popularly known as Maulāna Rūmī, says in his immortal Maśnavī'—M'anavī (or Spiritual Poem), "Before the Painter (God) and (His) Pen, the picture (*i.e.* the created being) is helpless and bound like a child in the womb. Before (His) Omnipotence all the created beings of (His) Court (*i.e.*, the world) are as helpless as the weaving material before the needle (of the weaver). Sometimes He makes the picture of the Devil, and sometimes of Adam; sometimes His picture is in joy, and sometimes it is in grief. There is no power that he shall move the hand in defence; no speech that he shall utter concerning injury and benefit. (And) recite from the Qur'ān the commentary of this verse: God said; 'Thou didst not throw, when thou threwest.' If we let fly an arrow, it is not from us; we are (only) the bow, and the shooter of the arrow is God."[1]

The verse of the Qur'ān[2] to which the words, 'Thou didst not throw, when thou threwest', are connected, says, "So you did not kill them, but it was God who killed them; and thou didst not throw them, when thou threwest, but it was God who threw, so that He might give the believer a good proof of His favour. Verily God is all-hearing and all-knowing." Rūmī also says in another page of the Book, "Truly, whether it be infidelity or faith in Him (to which he is pre-destined), he is the hand-loom (or instrument) of the Lord and belongs to Him.

Khūd agar kufr ast wa gar īmān-i-ū;
Dast bāf-i-Ḥazrat ast wa ān-i-ū.

In this way with various other utterances our poet expounds the theory that God is the source of all creation in this universe, and everything has been pre-destined. Every good or evil, every

[1] Maśnavī, Vol. I.

[2] Qur'ān, VIII, 17. This refers to the battle of Badr where the party of the Prophet (*i.e.*, the believers of God) won the battle inspite of their number being very insignificant in comparison with that of their opposite party who were infidels and whose number was very large.

joy or sorrow, every faith or infidelity that appears in us, is only from our pre-dispositions which God has created in our souls. Rūmī says, "If the fire of your nature makes you suffer pain, it burns by the Command of the Lord of Religion; if the fire of your nature gives you pleasure (it is because) the Lord of Religion puts it therein." [3]

"God in reality creates all causes and effects, though logically every cause seems to be the effect of another cause. Steel and flint cause fire to be produced, and themselves (according to Muslem physicists) are the product of 'the seven fathers' (the planets) and 'the four Mothers' (the elements). Again the planetary influences and elementary properties have causes above them: the orthodox view is that fire does not burn or water quench thirst by its own nature, but only as instrument for manifesting the will of God. Similarly, food and medicine may be causes of satiety and health in so far as the Divine Provider and Healer uses them as means to His appointed ends. Even the Devil and the fleshly soul, as causes of sin and tribulation, are His ministers through whom the eternal destinies of men are fulfilled.[4] To quote the words of Rūmī, "If you strike the stone on iron, it (fire) lifts up; it is also by God's command that it springs up. Do not strike together the iron and stone of oppression, for these two will generate like men and women. Stone and iron, indeed, appeared as cause, but look higher, O good man." [5]

Thus, if we think deeply we shall find that these are only apparent causes behind which lies the real cause, which is God, for whose will every apparent or secondary cause is visible in this world. How artistically the poet expounds the theory: what is this 'Sabab' (cause or significance of this apparent cause) in Arabic? Say, 'rasan' (rope).—This rope appeared in the well (of this world) by (Divine) artifice. The revolution of the water wheel is the cause for the rope (which moves and draws up water from the well), (but) not to see the mover of the water-wheel is (a great) error .....O son, when you open your eyes, you will find that from God even are the water of mercy and the fire of anger."[6] Again, "The Kingdom is His Kingdom, the Command is His; that Devil of Him is the meanest dog (guarding) at His door.....O Devil dog, go on examining the creatures

[3] Maśnavī, Vol. I.

[4] R. A. Nicholson, Commentary to the Maśnavī of Rūmī, Vol. 7, p. 71.

[5] Maśnavi, Vol. I.

[6] *Ibid*, Vol. I.

(by inflicting tribulations) so that (you may see) how they set foot in this way (of God)."[7]

We find that God is the originator of all good and evil. And the Qur'ān says, "If some good befalls them, they say, 'This is from God'; and if any evil befalls them, they say, 'This is from you' (referring to the Prophet). (O Prophet), Say, 'All is from God'..... (Really) 'whatever good happens to you (O people), is from God; and whatever evil happens to you is from your (own) passions."[8] It is our passions and desires which make us feel all these sorrows and sufferings of the world. When we shall be relieved of all these, we shall find that it is God who only remains, and is the source of bliss and eternal happiness. How beautifully the poet explains the origin of sin, and with it the creation of the world; and when a man will be relieved of its effect, he will find that from God evolved the creation of the world and with it all relative good and evil. Rūmī says, "Adam took a single step into the region of the enjoyment of animal spirit; his separation from the high seat of Paradise became the punishment of his carnal soul."[9]

This is the origin of the the creation of man according to Muslim faith; and there is a reference in the Qur'ān[10] also to the fall of Adam to this world from the Heavenly Garden, owing to his taking some forbidden fruit, which is really the symbol of impurity. The poet, then, continues, thus, the result of the creation of man, when he will be relieved of all passions and desires: The bodily sense eats up the food of darkness, and the rational spirit develops from a Sun (*i.e.* a saint, or the spiritual guide). O you, who have brought forward your bundle of passions to the unseen, bring up your hand, like Moses, from the pocket (*i.e.*, manifest your Divine attributes which are inherent in you). (And when you have done so,) sometimes a Sun and sometimes an ocean you will be, and sometimes the Mount Qāf and sometimes the "Anqā, you will turn into. (But) in your own essence, you are neither this nor that, O you, who are beyond all conjectures and more than more."[11]

God manifests Himself through His creation of man, 'so that the Treasure of knowledges may not remain hidden', the Treasure of knowledges being referred to God who is the Treasure of Eternal

[7] *Ibid*, Vol. V
[8] Qur'ān IV, 78-79
[9] Maśnavī, Vol. II.
[10] Qur'ān II, 36.
[11] Maśnavī, Vol. II,

Bliss, Beauty and Truth and is the source of all good. But He cannot manifest Himself, as He has no opposite. As our poet exclaims, "Sorrows and sufferings were created by God with this purpose that through this opposite (*i.e.* sorrows and suffrings) happiness might be manifest. All hidden things appear (to us) by their opposites: as God has no opposite, He is hidden from us."[12] What a great truth do these couplets divulge to us! Everything that we see in this world is only visible to us owing to the presence of its contrary side by side.

Now, what is Pre-destination? That which has been destined to us before our creation. It is the Divine decree or the will of God that is acting on us. And He wills that He shall manifest Himself through us. Rūmī says, "After the repentance, He (God) said to him, 'O Adam, did I not create in you that sin and (those) troubles? Was it not My Pre-destination and Decree that you concealed it at the time of excuse?' He replied, 'I was afraid, I did not fail to respect you.' (And) God said, "I have also observed it towards you."[13] Adam deviated from the Truth, so was his fall. And when he repented of it, he was taken back after a lapse of time to God. This lapse of time is the duration of the creation of the world. This is the mystery of creation. It has no real foundation at all. But we cannot grasp the real significance of it, as long as we are entangled in it. The poet coutinues "The creation of God brings our actions into existence; (and) our actions are (only) the effects of the creation of God. A rational being either perceives the letter (*i.e.*, the outward significance) or the purpose (*i.e.*, the inner meaning of creation): how should he perceive both the significance at the same time? If he went after the meaning, he became unmindful of the letter; (for) no side can see both the forward and the backward at a time. ...O son, (only) God comprehends both; one action does not hinder Him from the other action. Satan said, 'Because you have seduced me'; the vile devil concealed his own act. Said Adam, 'we have wronged ourselves,' (although) he was not unaware, like us, of the action of God".

This story of Satan and Adam has reference in the Qur'ān[14], and it may, in short, be illustrated thus: God created Adam out of clay, but had raised him superior to Angels by teaching 'the names', *i.e.*, the nature and quality of things. Then the Angels were ordered to

[12] *Ibid* Vol. I.

[13] *Ibid*,

[14] Qur'ān, Chaps. II and VII (16 and 23); and compare the notes given by 'Abdullah yūsuf 'Alī in his translation of the Holy Qurī'ān.

bow down before him. All bowed to him except Satan (or Iblis), who refused to bow down on the ground that he was made of fire, but Adam was of clay. He did not think for the moment that Adam was raised higher by his learning the names.

At first Adam know no evil. But he was given the faculty of choice, which raised him higher than the Angels, and this also implied his capacity of doing evil, which he was to avoid by the training of his will. And he was warned against this danger. But when he fell, he realised the evil. Yet he is given the chance in a lower plane to make good and recover the lost status of Innocence and Bliss. This is really the condition of every human being.

These are the two aspects of the One Truth, God—the good and the evil. The (relative) good, the type of Adam, is proceeding towards the Eternal good or Bliss, and the relative evil, the type of Satan, is proceeding away from the Eternal Bliss and is obstructing the relative good to regain his lost status of Innocence and Bliss. But when he will regain that, there cannot be any relative good and evil. It is all Truth. The real nature of good and evil is only known to the Perfect who sees that good and evil are like the two sides of the different waves of the Ocean. It is only in the conflicts of our nature, we find some one to be good and some to be bad. The poet says, "Since colourlessness became the captive of colour, a Moses came into conflict with another Moses. When you attain unto that colourlessness which you (originally) had, Moses and Pharoah are at peace (with one another).[15]

This is our real nature, Rūmī says, "who are we? In this complex world, when He (God) is (single) like alif, what (again) can there be? Nothing, nothing.

Mā kiyim andar jahān-i-pich pich;
Chun alif-i-ū khud Chi dārad hich hich.

But this is the ultimate state of man, when any man is proceeding towards that Ideal he will feel that the Divine Destiny or the Will of God is for his good, and it will ultimately lead him to the goal of Eternal Bliss, so whatever sorrow and suffering be falls him, he will bear it with utmost patience ; but to a person who does not feel that state of mind, any suffering will prompt him to blame Divine Destiny which is apparently the cause of his sufferings. Rūmī says, "The word 'Jabr' (compulsion or Divine decree) made me beyond myself for love's sake, but it confined in the prison of compulsion him who is not

[15] Maśnavī Vol. I.

a lover (of God). (Really) it is union with God, there is no (feeling of) compulsion, it is the lustre of the moon, it is no cloud"[16].

Really this Divine decree is for our good. It teaches us humility which is a preparation for leading us to the goal. The poet says. "It is not 'compulsion,' it is the meaning of Almightiness ; the mentioning of almightiness is for the sake of humility.

In nih Jabr in mā'nīye jabbārast
Dzikr-i-jabbārī barāye zārī ast

The moment we realize that there is one, who is all-powerful, we must bow down to Him in humility, otherwise mere utterance of Predestination is of no value. As Rūmī says, "No humility was seen in the world without the existence of One, All-powerful, nor will it ever be, know this (well).[17]) It is our momentary weakness which forces us to the bindings of passions and desires. Adam knew that he was guilty of his sin in choosing the forbidden fruit, though it was also the Ere-ordainment, so to say, but he readily admitted his weakness; while Satan, though himself aware of his guilt, did not admit it, but put the blame to God. In Adam there was only one sin, but Satan in defying Adam, and then God, was under several crimes, namely, arrogance, jealousy, disobedience, egotism, falsehood and defiance. So Adam was taken to God after a lapse of time, and Satan was deprived of the nearness of God till the Resurrection (*i.e.*, up to the last stage of the creation of the world).

All these ideas of Heaven and Hell, the creation of the world, the Resurrection, and our ideas of good and evil exist in our minds as long as we are not united with God. The moment we realise our unity with God, these are of no importance ; and our religions concern us only so long as we are on the way to the goal. Different religions have been advocated only to show us the different paths of leading us to the goal. As Rūmī says, "Every prophet and every saint has a way (of Religion), but it leads to God. All are really one". In another page he says, "The doctrines, every one, one contrary to each other how can they be one? Until you pass beyond the difference of sugar and poison (*i.e.* good and evil), how will you get the scent of unity and oneness? And in commenting these lines Prof. Nicholson says, "In relation to God who is the Absolute God, nothing is absolutely evil. The same things are 'evil' in so far as they lack some positive quality that would make them good, and 'good' in so far as

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Maśnavī Vol. IV.

they cause that quality to be manifested. God has created nothing without a purpose: the existence of 'evil' serves to demonstrate His Omnipotence and display the infinite perfections of His nature. But though He wills, decrees and creates all actions quā actions, He does not will, decree and create them quā good or evil. These are names given by God or by us to actions which are approved or condemned on religious grounds. Infidelity, in respect of its being Divinely ordained 'is wisdom'; but in relation to human creatures, it is disobedience to God's law and a deadly sin[18]".

Therefore, we, of this world, find that as Religion concerns us, so also does the conception of Pre-destination and Human will. And our poet argues on these two with a clear eye of vision. He says, "As you do not feel His Divine power (or will), do not say (that you are forced by the Destiny) ; and if you feel it where is the sign of your feeling?—In every act for which you have your inclination, you are clearly conscious of your power (to perform it. But) in every act which is not to your liking and desire, you impute it to the Divine decree, saying 'this is from God"[19].

According to Maulānā Rūmī, as of all Sūfis, any religious conception is only relative and not true completely; for all religions are only different paths to Realization. And when one has realized the true state of God, or of his ownself, he reaches a position which is beyond description. As our poet says, "If he conceives that he is in love with the Essence (of God), Conception of the (Divine) names and attributes is not the Essence. Conception is begotten of qualities and definition ; God is not begotten, He is *lam yulad.*"

Hence, our conception of Pre-destination and Human will, is also relative ; it counerns us so long we are on the way to Realization. But when we shall reach there, we shall find that both are true partially, and both are advocated by the religious prophets only to develop ourselves gradually in the way to Realization which ultimately reaches a state where the devotee finds no distinction between the conceptions of Pre-destination and Human will. For there he is the same as He. But so long one has not reached that state there will always remain disputations between the upholders of Divine decree and Human will. As Rūmī says, " Similarly there is disputation

[18] R. A. Nicholson. Maśnavī of Jalāluddin Rūmī (commentary), Vol. VII, p. 137.
[19] Maśnavī, Vol I.

(which will continue, till mankind is raised from the dead, between the upholders of Divine decree and (absolute) Human will." [20]

There are religions which advocate the principles of the absolute will of man, and there are again religions which advocate that of Divine decree; and our poet sings in respect of these two, "In one (religion) it is said, "Do not regard your weakness; that weakness is an act of ingratitude. Beware, regard your power, for this power is from Him; know that your power is from Him who is Hū (God) . . . . (In the same way) in another (religion) it is said, 'There are (Divine) commands and prohibitions, (but) they are not for practice—they are only to show our weakness. So that we may behold our weakness therein, and at that time recognize the power of God.'" [21]

Really as long as we are not treading on the way to Realization, we shall only go on arguing in favour of some, without fully knowing the reality of it. As Rūmī says, "He that considers the foams is in reckoning, and he that considers the sea is without volition. He that considers the foam is in continual movement, and he that regards the sea is devoid of hypocrisy". [22] And really when one follows the path of Realization, he will not dispute on these matters, for they are of no utility to him; and Divine help will surely come to him who cries for help on the way to Realization. Our poet says, "O dear Soul, Love alone cuts disputation short; for it alone comes to rescue when you cry for help against arguments.

'Ishq barrad baḥas rā ayi jān wa bas
Ko jī guft wa gū shuyi fariyād ras.

Though Divine will is only predominating, yet as long as we are not fully conscious of the will which is working everywhere, we must work on with our limited free-will, and exert ourselves towards that Realization. How finely Rūmī sings of the subject! "Endeavour is not a struggle with Destiny, because destiny itself has laid this upon us. I am in infidel if any one has suffered loss a single moment, while walking in the path of faith and obedience. (Your) head is not broken, do not bandage this head. Exert yourself for a day or two, and laugh into everlasting. Exertion is a reality, and medicine and disease are realities, the unbeliever in his devoid of exertion practised exertion." [23]

[20] Maśnavī, Vol. V.
[21] Maśnavī, Vol. I.
[22] Maśnavī, Vol. V.
[23] Maśnavī, Vol. I.

One who claims that he believes in Pre-destination, should not blame any one for any wrong done to him, or be satisfied with any one for any good shown to him ; for he knows that all pleasures and sufferings are really due to him for the Divine will which is working everywhere. But really when one becomes pleased or sorry for the apparent causes, it means that he is not a real believer in the Divine will though he argues for it. In the same way, if one claims that he is a believer in the absolute free-will of man, he stands in the same position with God which is absurd as long as man has not realized God where he becomes one with him.

Really human free-will is not inconsistent with Divine Omnipotence. When one will realize God, he will truly understand that both mean the same thing. But before reaching that, one should proceed in his own way of thought. If he believes in human will, let him proceed in his own way of thought; and if he believes in Pre-destination, let him also proceed in his way. In one way or other, both are there; and both really mean the same thing. But as long as we have not completely submitted ourselves to God, we are not really believers in the will of God, though we presume ourselves to be so. Because we are following our own way of thought, and we always see to what is right and what is wrong, which really means that we are following our own reasons. Rūmī says in regard to this, "Beyond doubt we have a certain power of choice, you cannot deny the feeling which is clear . . . . command and prohibition and anger and honour and rebuke concern him only, who possesses the power of choice, O pure natured ones . . . . In the eye of reason, belief in compulsion is more shameful than the doctrine of the absolute will of man, because a believer in destiny is denying his own feeling."

Again, the whole world acknowledges the power of choice—the proof is their commanding and forbidding (each other)—'Bring this and do not bring that.' He (the believer in Destiny) says that commanding and forbidding are naught; there is no choice, all (doctrines) are erroneous . . . . In as much as our power of choice is perceived by the (inward) sense, responsibility for action may well be laid upon it . . . . (Really) the man who holds the absolute will of man does not deny his feeling, (but) the action of God is not connected with sense, O Son."[24]

As long as we are entangled in sense perceptions, it is not possible for us to understand clearly the Omnipotence of God. One

[24] Maśnavī, Vol. V.

who has truly realized God, understands the reality of the Divine Will. Before doing that one who claims to be a believer in Predestination, is only making a false show of his piety, though it is true that His Will only predominates. As Rūmī says, "If none but God have the power of choice, why do you become angry with one who has committed an offence against you . . . . The anger in you is a clear proof of your choice, so you should not excuse yourself after the fashion of a believer in destiny . . . . (Really) His power of choice brought (our individual) powers of choice into existence; His power of choice is like a rider (hidden) under the dust (which he raises)." [25]

So long we have not been able to enter deep into the mystery of God, whose Will only is prevailing, we think that Human Will is the real agent. In the quoted lines above, human will has been compared to the dust which is raised to the sky owing to the Rider's riding the horse; as the Rider is not seen through the darkness of dust, so the Divine Will is not perceived by one who is under the entanglement of sense perceptions, and one feels that human will acts. Rūmī sings thus: Declare that His Will is existing in a complete manner, but there is no compulsion or error. Since you have said that your unbelief is willed by Him, know that it is also willed by yourself." [26]

According to Rūmī, the perfect man who has realized God, has become one with God, and to him there is no difference between predestination which is believed by the ordinary men to be a compulsion forced upon them, and absolute will of man. As our poet says, "Their (conception of) human will and compulsion is different (from that of the ordinary men)—In Oyster shells drops are pearls . . . . In you human will and compulsion was a fancy, but when it went into them (Perfect men) it became the Light of the Majesty."

Akhtiyār wa jabr dar tu bud khiyāl
Chūn dar īshān raft shud nūr-i-Jalāl.

Every action that works on us through our limited free-will is really the working of the Divine will. He wills that we shall realize Him at last after making ourselves free from all the short-comings that are on the way to realization, which short-comings are really the cause of our birth in this world. And when we shall realize Him,

[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid.*

we shall be one with God, where we shall be selfless and volitionless, for there only His self and will remain. But as we have not reached that position, we must endeavour after that position. As Rūmī says " Endeavour to gain freshness (spiritual upliftment) from God's cup (of love), then, you will become selfless and volitionless."

Jahd kun kaj jāmi Haq iyābī nuwī
Bī-khudū bi-ākhtiyār āngah Shawī.

Every action that we do, we think that we are doing on our own initiative, but really the Divine decree compels us to think in this way, for His will only predominated. Our poet says, " Therefore He veiled at first (the real nature of) that, so that we might perform that action according to the Divine Destiny. When the Divine Destiny brought its ordainment, the eye was opened and repentance arrived. This repentance is another destiny ; give up this repentance (and) worship God.[27]

The secret of Religion, *i.e.*, the worshipping of God, is the Realization of God where one will truly understand God, the all-powerful one, who only remains, and to whom all must submit most humbly. This straight and true path is always clear to any one who is earnest after following it. Rūmī says regarding the way of worshipping God, " If thou knowest the good way, worship ; if thou knowest not, how dost thou know that it is evil? (Really) thou dost not know evil till thou knowest good ; from one contrary is possible to understand the other contrary, O youth. When you have become relieved of this thought (of good and evil), at that time you have become relieved of sin also." [28] And when one becomes relieved of any sin, he realizes God. There human will and Divine will become the same.

[27] Maśnavi, Vol. IV.
[28] *Ibid.*

SOME ASPECTS OF ROLLAND'S CONCEPTION OF ART

SUDHIR NANDI, M.A., *Sāhityabhāratī (Viśwabhāratī)*

Romain Rolland's conception of art mainly rests on three props, *viz.*, 'Truth', 'Life' and 'Freedom'. Himself a born artist Romain could well understand the fundamentals of art and in his inimitable way he put most of his views on art in the lips of John Christopher, his immortal creation. He could not appreciate Tolstoy's application of democratic principle in the field of art. It was fantastic to him that the merit of a work of art should be judged merely by counting of heads. Such a monstrous suggestion even though it came from a mastermind like Tolstoy was not at all acceptable to Rolland. He always thought that it was the task of the artist to tutor the untutored public in matters of taste. To quote Rolland: "It was the artist's business to lead the public but not the public, the artist". (p. 85, John Christopher, Vol. 3). The mob is not capable of forming an opinion, nobody dares to say what everybody secretly feels. The artist gives expression to what others like to express. People's mute inmost thoughts find expression in the lines of a true artist. Rolland repeatedly lamented the unsteadiness of the critics in matters of developing public taste and their lack of moral strength. "If the critic were strong, if they dared to be strong, what a power they would have! A vigorous critic would in a few years become the Napolean of public taste and sweep away all the diseases of art".

For Rolland, as for Gandhi and Tagore, Truth is the highest human value. In their eyes, truth, beauty and goodness are identical, on ultimate analysis. His passion for truth led him to enormous troubles in the days of Nazi occupation. Nothing could deter him from telling the truth and that is why his works find a ready acceptance all the world over. Rolland belongs to that immortal galaxy of men whose names have been enshrined in discerning hearts both as artist and as savant. His love of art never outweighed his love of truth. Truth, to him, was greater than art and he had no hesitation to forego his claims as an artist if art had anything to do with falsity. What he liked most in the artist were modesty and sincerity with a

craze for truth. In his eyes, modesty and sincerity were the handmaids of truth. A really truthful man cannot but be modest and sincere. If art dabbles in falsity, it loses its universal element, that which makes it universally acceptable. In defining the relation between art and truth Rolland tells us :—

"Be true even though art and artists have to suffer for it! If art and truth cannot live together, then let art disappear." (p. 215, John Christopher, Vol. 2). This truth element in art assures the greatness of the artist as well as the permanence of his work. Christopher's uncle Gottfried indicted Christopher's musical compositions as they were not true to his feelings, written as they were simply for the sake of writing. There were pride and immodesty in the composer and they had their reflection on the composition. So it was not art worth the name. Let us quote Gottfried: "You wrote for the sake of writing...A man is always punished when he is proud and a liar in music. Music must be modest and sincere or else, what is it? Impious, a blasphemy of the lord who has given us song to tell the honest truth." (p. 122, John Christopher, Vol. 2) So Christopher unambiguously tells us that it was the business of art to tell the honest truth.

Rolland, like Bergson, was a worshipper of *elan vital, i.e.*, life-force. He wanted to see it everywhere, in art, morality and religion. Nothing shall be dead and every thing will be pulsating with life. This was the fond expectation of Rolland. To be healthy was a great thing for him. To be full of life was a thing commendable in the artist. As Goethe says, "If the poet is ill, let him first of all cure himself, when he is cured, let him write." Rolland was of the same opinion. "Christopher" to quote Rolland "was perpetually in a state of jubilation which had no need of joy." It would adapt itself even to sorrow: its source overflowed with life, was its strength, mother of all happiness and virtue. This vigorous life-force is the source of dynamism in men. He can readily adapt himself to the pressing needs of the moment, whether physical or spiritual and ride roughshod over the pettiness of his society. "To live is to live too much!.....A man who does not feel within himself this intoxication of strength, this jubilation in living—even in the depths of misery—is not an artist. That is the touchstone. True greatness is shown in the power of rejoicing through joy and sorrow." (p. 177, John Christopher, Vol. 2). What was living was dear to Rolland. That is why he detested all sorts of fetishism in art. Why should mummies be preserved in the art-gallery to influence the younger generation of artist? Why

should there be so many precedents to follow? What was the use of idols and classics? These dead relics of the past had no importance for Rolland. He declared in clear terms that "he only had the right to call himself the heir of the spirit of Wagner who was capable of trampling Wagner underfoot and so walking on and keeping himself in close communion with life." (p. 227, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2). To Rolland even reality was poetic and poetry was the spontaneous language of hearts, bursting with life.

Freedom in art was another important factor. If the artist works in a closed room and in an affected style, his worth was sure to die in the cradle. That was Rolland's conviction and that is why he heartily detested all sealed chamber compositions. He always thought of Bethoven composing as he strode across country, rushing down the hillsides, swinging along through sun and rain, terrifying the cattle with his wild shouts and gestures. Such vigour and life, such freedom and wildness were what he admired most in art. So he made great efforts to combat the stay-at-home spirit of the French, who will shut themselves up in their homes and cannot be induced to go out. So their music lacked air; "it was sealed chamber music, sofa music, music with no sort of vigour." Rolland also had a feeling that the genial Cantor always wrote in a closed room: his work smacked of stuffiness. His music lacked the brave outdoor air. Like Bethoven or Haudel, what hurt him in all of them, especially in the classics, was their lack of freedom. Almost all their works were 'constructed'. There was no spontaneity of the creative urge. Their creations were made to order. Pope comes closer to Rolland's conception of freedom in art when he writes, "I lisped in numbers, for numbers came." This is the true nature of artistic freedom. The creative urge must be spontaneous and the motive self-contained. It must not refer to any ulterior end.

Rolland's dislike for the classics was due to the lack of life and vigour in the classics on the one hand, and freedom on the other. But his dislike for the German Romantics was none the less severe. These Romantics claimed to be the most spontaneous, most free and at the same time they were the least constructive. Artists like Schumann had poured their whole life drop by drop into their innumerable works. Schumann could not be taxed with falsity. He said what he felt. His fault did not lie in saying what he had not felt but his fault was in feeling falsely. His feelings were false and his art had the imprint of these false feelings. So his art ever remained far away from truth. According to Rolland, depicting this type of false feelings was the

worst falsity and German art abounded in this type. Let us listen to Rolland: 'The more a German musician is naive and in good faith, the more he displays the weakness of the German soul, its uncertain depths, its soft tenderness, its want of frankness, its rather sly idealism, its incapacity for seeing itself, for daring to come face to face with itself. That false idealism is the secret sore even of the greatest—of Wagner. (p. 170, *Ibid*, Vol. 2) So according to Rolland, false representation as well as false conception or idealisation lead to falsity in art. They are equally blamed worthy. They hamper the true mission of art—a mission which art unknowingly fulfils.

"Art is the emperor of life; art is life tamed"—thus spoke John Christopher to Sylvian Kohn, a fashionable art-connoisseur. To him 'art for art's sake' was a faith of the strong. Only those believe in this theory who can take life lightly on their wings and fly into the eternal serenity of space. In such rare cases, life attains the level of art and art no longer remains divorced from life. Christopher tells Kohn: "For that you need talons, great wings and a strong heart. But you are nothing but sparrows, who, when they find a piece of carrion, rend it here and there, squabbling for it and twittering 'art for art's sake'. (p. 82, *Ibid.*, Vol. 3) Art is no common ground for the feet of all, a rendezvous for peasants and princes alike. It is a pleasure and the most intoxicating too. But one attains to this state of blissful pleasure after a strenuous fight. It is the laurel wreath that crowns the victory of the strong. It goes to the Eagles among men who have mighty wings and a strong heart—a rare combination of imagination and strength. Christopher accuses French artists of turning to profit their own deformities and the deformities of their society. Contemporary French artists lulled the people in their semi-torpor state. They deadened their minds with the fume of opium. They intoxicated their people with cheap pleasures in the name of music and literature, drawing and painting. They did lovingly cultivate the diseases of their own people, "their fear of effort, their love of pleasure, their sensual minds, their chimerical humanitarianism everything in them that drugs the will, everything in them that saps their power of action. (p. 82, *Ibid*, Vol. 3) Behind it all is death. French artists degraded the noble mission of art in their attempt to please the people and thus helped to expedite the moral and spiritual death of the French people as a whole. This thirst for popularity and the fear of being out of fashion made them ludicrous in the eyes of John Christopher. True artists never bother about what people say about their works. They are not at all concerned with how the people will

receive them. They are neither worried over the future of their work nor with their present reception. A true artist is like the painters of the Renaissance who joyously painted mural decorations, knowing full well that in the years nothing would be left of them. That is the true attitude of real artists The artist needs only look to the fact that his or her art gives light and life, warmth and happiness. This is what Rolland expected of art and Christopher echoes this expectation in the following words:—

"But above all—above all, if you were musicians, you would make pure music, music which has no definite meaning, music which has no definite use, save only to give warmth and air and life." (p. 403, *Ibid.*, Vol. 3).

JALALUDDIN FIROZ KHALJI : EXPERIMENT IN KINGSHIP*

A. B. M. HABIBULAH

Shaistah Khan Firoz Khalji's eventual assumption of sovereignty at the Kilokhri palace in March 1290, signified more than a mere dynastic change. Unlike Balban's accession twenty five years ago, it meant the end of an age, for, with the Memeluke dynasty also passed the racialism which had characterised the political attitude of Iltutmish and his successors. The Turk had initiated the conquest, and, with singular energy, had fought back his enemies, but in organising the state he had weighted it heavily with racial affiliations. Improvised as a Turkish concern the Sultanate's mainstay was sought to be confined to those who, as a result of the Mongol invasions and the influence of environment, increasingly found themselves unable to preserve their exclusive properitary rights and had to resort to, as in Balban's reign, to the desperate method of violently destroying rival elements. The easy victory of the allegedly non-Turkish Khalji party only underlined the proved fact that racial dictatorship could no longer sustain the state. For, it had reached a stage when new forces and aspirations insistently demanded adjustment. The improvisations of the process of conquest could no longer counteract the inherent disruptive tendencies, and planned administration as well as long-deferred military expansion, called for a new outlook and a new society.

The king's conciliatory temperament seemed to augur well for the new programme. Seeking to make the transition as easy as possible, and, respecting the Turcophile feelings of the discomfited citizens, he delayed his entry into Delhi and set up court in Kaiqubad's unfinished palace at Kilokhri. In the reorganization of the government that followed; his own kinsmen and supporters naturally received the key positions, but a general dispossession of the old nobility was prudently avoided. Balban's friend and the leading citizen of Delhi, the Malikul Umara, Fakhruddin, was confirmed as the *kotwal* while Khwaja Khatir retained the *wazarat*. During his regency Firoz had agreed

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to Malik Chajju's request for the governorship of Karra and thither the remaining members of the Balbani family were now allowed to repair. From among his relations Firoz's brother Yaghrash Khan headed the Army Ministry, while his nephew Ahmad Chap became the Deputy Master of the Audience Hall (*naib-i-barbak*).

Within a few months, however, the citizens' aversion turned into a half-concealed admiration as they heard of the King's innate modesty and anxious regard for his opponent's feelings. Induced by the hope, as Barani points out, of rewards and offices, they journeyed, at first hesitantly, to make their peace with him and were reassured by his genuine eagerness to win their affection. To their astonishment they found in the king an exceptionally peaceable and kindhearted man who, then past his seventieth year, nourished no other ambition than of ending his days as a pious Mussalman warring constantly in the service of God. They still remembered the awe-inspiring hauteur and coolness of Balban's demeanour and so were almost scandalised when Firoz, on his first state-entry into Delhi a few months later, made an unashamed display of human emotions and impulses. To the intense chagrin of his power-drunk kinsmen he insisted on dismounting at the entrance to the red palace inside which, as he said in reply to Ahmad Chap's remonstrance, he had often stood hours on end in front of Balban. He refused to take his seat in the audience-hall except in the place assigned to the servants. Overcome by sentiments, he cried aloud and declared that the crown was forced upon him by the malicious intent of Kaccha and Surkha and that he was forced to endanger the future of his children, kinsmen and dependents. 'For, how could he, with such a humble origin as his and with so few followers, ever hope to retain and bequeath it to his children when it passed away from the family of even such a strong-willed and well-established king as Balban within three years of his death?'

Such sentiments reveal an extraordinarly sincere heart, unsullied power and rejoicing in a child-like want of equivocation.

To the simpler, unpolitical mind he, therefore, appeared as saintly king, for by subordinating state-craft to the dictates of his heart, he showed himself in a perfect and agreeable contrast to the ealier despots. His reign typifies, perhaps, a conscious departure from the prevailing "Blood and iron" method of government and, as Barani implies, it was no fault of the kindly old man that his faith in the powers of love was abused. Among the realistic politicians, schooled in the traditions of the stern, cold-blooded Balban, Firoz's emotional out-pourings and impulsive actions, however, evoked misgivings, for the situation

demanded a more aggressive exercise of the king's power. To canalise all loyalties to the new dynasty and provide for order and security by the restoration of the overawing powers of the central government, were tasks whose urgency brooked no experimentation. It was only by unrelenting ruthlessness that Balban had been able to ensure peace in the kingdom, but in the eastern provinces, despite his brutal methods, Delhi's authority was no more. The pitiful end of the late king had impaired the crown's psestige and consequently now called for more vigorous precaution. And, besides, sentimental tenderness ill-fitted a king whose final task was to dislodge the Mongols from the western Punjab and initiate the empire.

Firoz, however, firmly refused to play false to his heart and to his life-long loyalties, to shed Mussalman blood or cause misery to his fellow-men 'for the dubious glory of a few days' power! In the second year of accession, however, his softness produced the apprehended effect in encouraging Malik Chajju to raise the banner of independent sovereignty at Karra. As the head of the Balbani family he was enthusiastically joined by Hatim Khan, governor of Awadh, Tajuddin Kochi and other nobles of the old regime who had sought assignments in the east to be able to live away from the hated Khaljis. A large number of Hindu and Muslim adventurers also joined the enterprise which seemed assured of sucess by the known attitude of the Delhi citizens. Aiming a two-pronged attack on the capital the insurgents set out along the left bank of the Ganges to recross the river opposite Budaun, while Chejju took a division further north along the Ramganga, scheduled to turn east near Amroha. It was no contemptible strategy and Delhi's partisanship held out sinister possibilities. But Firoz's mildness concealed a seasoned warrior who could appreciate a straight military challenge. Leaving the Khan Khanan in charge of the administration, he marched towards Badaun and sent a detatchment ahead under his second son Arkali Khan to intercept Chajju. Contacted on the Ramganga crossing, the latter fought with determination but a deliberately circulated report of the Khalji king's approach from the rear unnerved him and he hastily withdrew. Persuing, Arkali Khan captured most of the officers, and, a few days later, Chajju himself was made over by a hill-chief.

Having thus vindicated the soldier in him Firoz, in dealing with the vanquished nobles, showed a magnanimity that shamed his erstwhile enemies, but which he overdid with characteristic sentimental effusions. As he espied, the fallen nobles being led up the Darbar ground turbanless, chained and in tattered garments, the king cried

out in pain, covered his eyes and indignantly ordered the shackles to be removed forthwith and the prisoners bathed, dressed and entertained 'as in the olden days'. He later amazed the orthodox politicians by inviting Chajju and his associates in a feast and convivial party. As the cup went the rounds he spoke to the crestfallen, speechless nobles words of kindness and consolation and, to the great consternation of the cautious Ahmed Chap, even warmly commended their loyal and devoted exertion in the cause of their master's family. Disappointed in his expectation of the rebels' punishment *a la Balban* for fulfilled by no sterner measure than Chajju's honourable confinement in Multan and the release of his comrades, the indignant nephew pointedly demanded kingly firmness or abdication. To this he gave spirited reply and no king could bear his heart and speak with such magnanimous humility as he did on this occasion. Frankly avowing his inability to rule by tyranny ond bloodshed, he expressed his eagerness to make room for any one who was prepared to barter his primary humanity for this 'Ungodly, man-killing kingship'. "For, he could never, in the fag-end of his life, disgrace these eminent men, his honoured friends and patrons. Could he ever forget the days when along with his brother, he used to stand in the ranks fondly hoping Hatim Khan would notice and respond to their salutations? May be, the rebels would have given him no quarter, but then", he argued naively, "the guilt of shedding Mussalman blood would be upon them and God would consign them to hell". On his part he must show gratitude for victory by being kind to them, for, after all, they were human beings, Mussalmans to wit, and with their appreciation of generosity and a sense of gratitude, would stay their hand from doing me any further harm'. For once, at least, his faith was not betrayed, for the defeated nobles gave no further trouble.

State-action thus continued to reflect his personal sentiments, unexceptionable in themselves, but ill-suited even to a more secure and well-knit kingdom. In 1292 he took energetic action against a Mongol force invading the Sunam border where it was decisively beaten, but the defeated chief, Ulghu, was generously allowed to settle with a part of his associates in Delhi, where they were given allowances and even social rank (1). Ordinary administration was made almost impossible when he extended this magnanimity even to such hardened, ordinary

[1] TM, pp. 62-64, seems to date the event in 1291 and perhaps following Isami: Futuhus-Salatin, p. 205, calls the Mongol ch Abdullah while TA, trans. I, p. 143, keeps Barani's version given on p. 218. There is discrepancy also as to the details of the battle: Isami speaks of the Sultan's brother defeating the invaders, but TM says Firoz personally went to meet them while TA differs from all to state that no battle took place.

criminals as the *thugs*, of whom about a thousand were rounded up for proved offences of murder and highway robbery. Pitying their lot and accepting their apology promises the king had them shipped off to the Lakhanauti kingdom and released on the frontier.

Towards the end of the year, presumably goaded by the militarists, he led an expedition to reduce Mandawar, in northern Alwar, one of the strongholds of Rajput offensive which even Balban's exertions had failed to eliminate. Ajmer was practically isolated by the Chauhanas expanding northwards on both sides of the Aravalli, and even the province of Harianah felt the pressure, increased by the Mewati tribesman. A large-scale offensive in Rajputana was, indeed, as urgent as the recovery of the Indus frontier. By temperament and long experience Firoz yearned for opportunity to carry on holy war with the Mongols, but to reimpose paramountcy and expand the kingdom required more cynical aggressiveness than he admittedly possessed. Mandawar, however, proved no great challenge to his determination. There was reportedly little resistance and the ravaged countryside yielded a rich booty in cattle.[2] But in following it up against the Chauhana stronghold of Ranthambhor, then under the famed Hamiradeva, his bellicosity gave way after two preparatory raids on Jhain and its communications. Jhain was reduced and seige operations against Ranthambhor were actually taken in hand. But almost immediately the king's nostalgia returned and refusing to "risk a single Mussalman's hair for ten such fortresses" he ordered withdrawal. The protesting Ahmed pointed to the danger of thus emboldening the Hindus and asked him to follow, at least such kings as Mahmud and Sanjar whose undoubted piety never limited their kingly action. But Firoz could put forth no more convincing defence than to reaffirm his old confession and a righteous, but illogical refusal to be compared with such worthy kings whose dominions, unlike his, 'contained not a single idolator'.

It was evident, that the old idealist would never learn statecraft, and while Barani, equally unpolitical, showered praise on his 'essential goodness', the murmurings among his courtiers grew loud and bitter. In private gatherings and over wine-cups they discussed his sentimental humility and woeful incapacity to inspire fear. In one such gathering, with wine adding to the irresponsible resentment some of the king's closest adherents uttered mouthfuls about killing the old man

[2] Barani and TM call the place Mandor, but Isami has Manduwar and TA has the impossible Mandu. It is difficult to identify with any other place except Mandawar in the Siwalikh hills. Isami, p. 208-209, and TM, p. 64, refer to the capture of the fortress.

and raising Tajuddin Kochi, to the throne. The report of such seditious, though drunken talk incensed even the mild Firoz but he merely summoned them to a private interview and confounded them once again with an impassioned affirmation of his humanitarianism. He stung their conscience when, warming up, he drew his sword and dared them to kill him. The incident ended, as Malik Chajju's had done, over blissful cups of wine, the poetry-reciting king breaking down in tears as the court wit, Nasrat Sabbah, made a clever and flattering confession, and asked forgiveness for the 'locquacious loozers.' The most persistent of his detractors, however, were banished to their *iqtal* for the period of one year.

In only one instance of a reported conspiracy Firoz took firmer action, but the manner was of a piece with his impulsive nature. This was the execution of the popularly venarated, foreign-born recluse named Sidi Maula, the attraction of whose ascetic piety had been heightened by a mysterious source of great wealth with which he maintained a vast and lavishly entertaining *Khanquah*, a resort for all classes of men. Sidi evidently belonged to an unorthodox sect of *darveshes* and from the reign of Kaiqubad his astonishing ideas on charities tended to make him an institution which latterly drew, along with the devotees, most of the dispossessed Balbani nobles and officers. Among his constant visitors were also some leading men of the new regime, the scheming *qazi*, Jalal Kashani, and the religious-minded crown prince, Khan Khanan who, however, died on the eve of the Mandwar expedition. The saint may not have been entirely disinterested in the resulting political potentiality of his position but the report, made by the immigrant Mongol chief, Malik Ulghu, of a conspiracy to have the king murdered during the Friday prayers by two Hindu officers of the old regime with a view to his own installation as the *khalifah*, was never proved. A near contemporary author, however, stresses the jealousy of a rival sect of darveshes to whose accusations the violent-tempered Arkali Khan, with his dislike for his elder brother's friends, lent a credulous ear[3]. Unable, in any case, to substantiate the firmly-denied charge, and the Ulama interdicting a suggested trial by fire, the king, seemingly convinced of their guilt, executed the two Hindus, banished the qazi and the Balbani officers and then in the Darbar, hotly turned to the Sidi for meddling in politics. As the latter repeated his denial Firoz lost his patience and in anger appealed to a group of *qalanders*,

[3] Barani, pp. 214-218.

egarly waiting for the opportunity, to avenge him on this man. And with a callousness surprising in a nature so gentle and merciful, he approvingly looked on as the recluse was pounced upon and mercilessly knived and, finally on Arkali Khan's instruction, crushed under an elephant. A violent dust-storm, followed by a draught lasting long enough to create famine conditions in the city, together with the tragic end of the king, continued to furnish the saint's admirers with the looked-for proof of his innocence.

None the less, the Sultanate survived the king's foibles and held together, as a tribute to the solidity of Balban's work no less than to the efforts of Firoz's unenviably placed officers. If his heart recoiled from the sanguinary implications of a strong, centralised and expansionist state he at last trusted his governors with the freedom to rule with conventional vigour and enterprise. While this ensured a fairly orderly administration it also opened the way to eventual expansion and, in so doing ended the political stagnation to which the king's actions threatened to subject the state. The process, however, almost symbolising the pitiless appraisal of history, swept off the noble king himself who tragically clung to an ideal that the world has yet to appreciate.

In the vacant governorship of Karra Firoz had appointed his brother's son, Ali Gurshasp, whom he had brought up from infancy and given his daughter in marriage. The young man had grown up a perfect opposite of his uncle, unscrupulous and aggressive, with an ambition which he found constantly thwarted by his haughty, sharp-tongued wife and mother-in-law. But domestic misery only increased his thirst for avenging himself on the family and his unsympathetic critics by deeds that would free him from the galling tutelage and ensure an independent, perhaps, glorious existence. At Karra he found Malik Chajju's erstwhile supporters only too willing to help him realise his dreams and, as money was the first requisite, raids on the neighbouring Hindu states seemed to assure a working capital. Since Delhi appeared to have her eyes fixed on Rajputana, Ali turned to the Paramara State of Malwah, a country in the process of rapid decline and dismemberment by the neighbouring Baghela, Jadava and Chauhana powers, and whose temples, though occasionally plundered in the past, could still yeild religious aud material satisfaction. With the king's sanction, accorded, it seems, with more zeal than calculation, Ali accordingly led, in 1294, a raiding expedition *via* Chanderi to Bhilsa. With a resistance given no time to foregather, he amply rewarded himself on the ancient, richly

endowed temples. He returned with immense booty, in cattle, precious metals and the inevitable idol to be trampled under the zealot's feet at Delhi. All this Ali shrewdly invested in winning the king's greater confidence and affection. But the most valued asset he kept to himself, the knowledge of the fabled wealth of the southern Hindu kingdoms, the state of their defences, and the routes thereto. South of the Vindhyas was almost virgin territory for Muslim arms, for the Jadava kingdom, with a fatal indifference to the significant course of events in the north, was merrily pursuing the age-old wars of dynastic rivalry. Ali Gursha, therefore planned to enrich himself by well-concealed raid on this kingdom and therewith to strike for independent sovereignity.

His move succeeded, for the king, confounding his nephew's detractors with what he fondly believed was additional proof of his loyalty, marked his appreciation by giving him his deceased father's vacant office of *Ariz-i-Mamalik* and adding Awadh to his governorship. He further granted Ali's request for permission to utilise the surplus revenue of his province in enlisting extra troops to be used, as he represented, for enriching the king's treasury by raids into the wealthy but poorly defended countries beyond Chanderi.

In less than a year Ali had collected his equipment and in the winter of 1294 set out at the head of about eight thousand picked cavalry for an assult on Devgiri, the Jadava capital, then under Ramachandra (1271-1310), basking in the reflected glory of his early exploits. It was an amazing feat, performed with exceptional daring. He left the historian, Ziauddin's uncle, Muayyidul Mulk, in charge of the Karra adminstration with instructions to keep Delhi constantly deluded about his real destination and struck across the unfriendly Bundelkhand. His eight weeks' march through the difficult and hostile country was eased by his assumed manner of a fugitive fleeing from the wrath of the king of Delhi, so that he met with little prepared defence at the Jadava frontier town of Ellichpur. Passing almost effortlessly through Ghati Lajaura he descended with the directness of lightning on the capital. With the army then way on a pilgrimage with the crown-prince Shankar, and with inadequate provisions in the city, Ramachandra was too unnerved to accept the challenge of a seige and offered submission. Before the invader could collect the promised ransom, the impetuous Shankar returned with the army and heedless of his father's importunities, counter-attacked. But Ali's resourcefulness neutralised an initial set-back and the twice-defeated king had to pay a far heavier indemnity than before and in

addition agree to the victorious army helping themselves on the town. The resulting gain, in gold and silver, precious stones and silkstuff, slaves and elephants and horses, exceeded the victor's wildest dreams, for the kingdom had attracted through its ports and trading centres vast overseas wealth.

News of Ali Gurshasp's exploit had meanwhile trickled through to Firoz who, although slightly hurt by his nephew's secretiveness, was yet pleased at the prospect of so vast a treasure coming to him. Realists like Ahmed Chap, who knew the prince better, however urged strong measure against such unauthorised campaign and warned the king of the consequences of allowing the ambitious young man to carry all this wealth straight to Karra. From Gwalior, where Firoz was on a hunting excursion at the time, he was therefore urged to march at once to intercept Ali at Chanderi. But the king's faith in his nephew could not be shaken and inispite of Ahmad's despairing cry "to kill us all if your Majesty returns to Delhi", he journeyed back to the capital, to wait hopefully for Ali's presentation of the spoils and his apologies. In the court was Almas Beg, Ali's younger brother, and also married to one of the king's daughters, who, on instructions from his brother, schemed to keep the old man deluded with assurances and pleasant expectations while Ali speedily marched back to his province. From there he sent detailed report, confessing his guilt and asking for a letter of pardon under the kings *tauqi* before he could dare present himself 'for he was uncertain as to what his enemies might have done to poison his uncle's mind during his one year's absence'. The king was only too ready to send the letter but when the special messengers desired to send reports of Ali's military strength and designs, they were detained. Ali's plan, in pursuance of which he had already arranged to secure a passage over the Ghogra, was to seize Lakhnauti, a country which had lately asserted her independence under Balban's grandson Kaikaus. But his uncle's credulity held out a richer possibility. Almas Beg succeeded in persuading the guileless old man that Ali was so desperately weighed with his sense of guilt that, unless the king personally assured him, he feared his brother was seriously contemplating atonement by committing suicide. Greatly concerned, at this and with his heart welling up for his nephew, Firoz decided to see him at once and sent Almas ahead to keep him from self-destruction with the assurance of his own arrival within a week's time.

And so, "his doom pulling him by the hair", as Barani puts it, heedless and even resentful of all counsels of caution, he set out straight for the trap laid by Ali Gurshasp. With only a thousand soldiers

marching along the river, he embarked, early in the month of Ramzan 695-1296, on a barge to journey down the Ganges, then swollen by heavy rains, to console his 'remorse-striken' nephew at Karra. As he neared the town on the 17th, Ali, leaving nothing to chance, sent Almas in a boat to induce the king to leave the troop-laden barge on the other side, 'lest his brother take fright and kill himself'. Even the few confidants who remained with him, were, on the same plea, made to unbuckle their weapons, and their hearts sank as they descried Ali's troops, armed to the teeth, alarmingly drawn up on the river bank. Complaining feebly of Ali's lack of courtesy in not coming forward even now to recieve him, to which Almas gave a suitably decietful reply. Firoz resignedly sat back to read Quran while his attendants despaired of their lives. At the landing Ali came forward with his retinue, and ceremoniously threw himself at the kings feet. Firoz affectionately raised him, kissed him, on the cheek, and chiding him for doubting his uncle's love, drew him towards the barge. The signal was then given; the first blow proved ineffectual, but as the old man ran back towards the boat a second stroke felled him and the severed head, raised aloft on a spear, stared on with glossy eyes as the nephew, quickly spreading the royal umbrella proclaimed himself king[7].

Although inconsequential at the end, Jalaluddin's reign bridged the experimental age of the Mamelukes with the planned imperialist economy of Alauddin. History used him as an instrument to end the retrogressive, outmoded racial polity of the Turks to set the stage for an integrating Indo-Muslim state. In this task his stubborn romanticism proved a necessary equipment for it doubtless eased the process of transition and blunted undying prejudices. Like Asoka he aimed at ruling by love and faith, but if he paid for its failure nobly with his own life, it is an indictment which mankind has since done little to expiate.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 190-192.
[5] Isami, *op. cit.* pp. 209-210.
[6] For an account of the Paramara kingdom in decline see Ganguly, D. C. : History of the Paramara dynasty.
[7] Barani, pp. 223-236.

TRACES OF SYMBOLISM IN EARLY POEMS OF TAGORE

PROF. BIRENDRANATH SIKDAR, M.A.

The use and purpose of symbols is to set forth in visible or audible likeness what cannot be really or fully expressed to the eye or ear, or even clearly conceived by the limited faculties of the human mind.[1] If all ultimate truth be unknowable and indefinable an approach to the reality can only be made by suggesting things that most faithfully and fully reflect the true and embody the largest part of a reality which in its entirety can never be grasped by the human mind and expressed in the language of men. The deep, abiding mystery of nature and of human soul always refuses to be adequately revealed in language. So in the picturesque and imaginative religions of the early world every force of nature is a god; and animate nature is peopled with separate divinities. Each god and each divinity is the symbol of man's conception of a being like himself, endowed with all his virtues carried to perfection and none of his vices. Struck with awe before the mysterious and wonder before the unknown man realized the inadequacy of his common, everyday speech and resorted to the use of symbols to try to embody his subtlest feelings. Hence symbolism, according to a French critic, is a profoundly human need. Whenever there is an upsurge of the rational and the prosaic, human instinct in sharp reaction turns inevitably to the symbolic art.

After the poetic spirit of the early nineteenth-century Europe with its exquisite sensuousness, its faith in imagination, its love of wonder, and of adventure, had been subdued—at the expense of freshness and energy—by the more ethical and intellectual muse of the middle of the century, there arose a new aesthetic movement started by some impetuous idealists from all over the continent particularly from France. And it arose in reaction to the Parnassian technique with its cold, correct classicism and well-defined, precise form of expression practised by poets like Hugo. This group of young enthusiasts earned for itself the name of "Decadents" partly on account of apparent want of form, and partly for their somewhat morbid view of life and ceaseless striving towards an explanation of

[1] A. S. Geden—Symbols.

the inexplicable. The heralds of this new movement—among whom were Gerard de Nerval (1808-55), Villiers de L'Isle Adams (1844-96), Stephane Mallarme (1842-92), Paul Verlaine (1844-96), Arthur Rimbaud (1854-91), to be followed by Iwan Gilkin, Albert Giraud, Maurice Maeterlinck, Emile Verhaeren, Jean Moreas (Greek), Georges Rodenbach (Belgium), Henri de Regnier etc.,—naturally found in symbolism a congenial and effective mode of giving shape to their "soul's vision" and of catching "the harmonies, sad and delicate, such as awaken slumbering echoes in other wounded hearts."[1] The artists, joining in the group, sought by preference to evoke an atmosphere of magic and mystery with the aid of haunting music and shadowy images. They wanted to revolutionize the art of poetic composition and the standard of critical canons "by creating an atmosphere of free and unhampered scope for the development of the poet's individuality in its artistic assertion of the rights of the imagination." To climb the 'ivory tower' of art and lose themselves in a world of half-realized dreams and flitting shadows was their constant endeavour. Their ideals were supported and strengthened by the bizarre doctrines of the mystics, Gnostics, the Kabbalists, and the Magi. In England William Blake fore-ran this movement by boldly asserting that he had discovered the Infinite through the gateway of senses; the Pre-Raphaelites joined hands with it by insisting on a return to the naive truth and mystical piety of the earlier Italian painters.

According to the doctrines held aloft and preached with gusto by these artists the world of senses was the world of illusions, not of reality. All material and sensible objects were but the symbols and far-off reflections of what were alone real and were hid from us by the curtain of death and the five senses. In the prison-house of the flesh imagination was the only magic-casement through which the soul was allowed glimpses of the fairy-land of Eternity. In each nation this stirring of fresh life and kindling of new desires spoke according to the personality of each nation. Prompted by these teachings German Romanticists like Goethe developed new ideas of a fuller, varied, and ever-expanding, all-embracing life and tried to capture Infinity in a mood occasionally expressed by a symbol (as in Novalis' Blue Flower), or simply in a mystic word or an image of the strange, solitary wood.

[1] Cf. Paul Verlaine, a Leader of the Movement.

The prominent features of this newly-started, old movement, as marked all over Europe from the results achieved, were a change in versification, imaginative splendour, use of emblems, rich imagery, suggestive vagueness, enchantment of dreams, mystery of the ideal, high-flown love, infinite melancholy and an environment of secret correspondences of things. Carried to an extreme this tendency led to an excess of individualism, a triumph of the arbitrary, a surrender to the tyranny of flitting moods.[1]

To the Indian mind saturate in its peculiar, ancient, mystical thoughts the doctrines of this symbolic art were immensely attractive. For centuries the Vedantists had taught the Indian to look into his own inner-self and seek Brahman—the All-Soul, the Eternal, the Infinite—there. Almost an echo of this sentiment is found in Villiers de L'Isle Adams' statement, "Become the flower of thyself"..... thou art but what thou thinkest, therefore think thyself "eternal." In a highly symbolical language the Vaishnava lyrics embody, through the ecstatic love of Radha and Krishna, the individual soul's zealous impulse to be merged in the Great Soul, the longing of the Finite for the Infinite, of the Relative for the Absolute. In fact symbolism is co-extensive with the Hindu religion itself.

Now if symbolism be a stream that flows perenially underground, its waters often bubble up to the surface under some stimulus from the world of thought. This stimulus often comes, as it did come in 19th century Europe, in the form of wide-spread, deep discontent of men with the moral, social, and intellectual order of the day. Fortunately for India and particularly for Bengali poetry, the years of Rabindranath's[2] training coincided with an era of great social, political and intellectual ferment in India. He appeared at a time when her culture of centuries was fast crumbling down under the direct impact of the West. India stood

> Between two worlds, one dead
> And the other powerless to be born.

Her youngmen were running reckless over the new and heady wine shipped from the West; her wise men were groping for new light. It was a time when great passions in the heart generated monstrous paradoxes in the brain. Her political horizon was scintillating with revolutionary ideas and inspiring visions. Coming of a family which

[1] Enunciated by Prof. J. K. Banerjee, M.A. of Calcutta University.

[2] Born in 1861.

had drunk from the very first waves of Western culture and had as its head some-sort of an Indian Rishi, Rabindranath had access to a wide range of studies both in Western and Eastern literatures. Through his father, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, he became versed in the in the Vedantic school of Philosophy. The Maharshi was an ascetic who had renounced the world for a good many years and passed his days in the sublime solitudes of the Himalayas. His lessons must have left a strong impression on the boyish imagination of the poet.[1] On the other hand the Europeanized atmosphere of his home and his visit to England when he was still in his teens paved the way for his fascination of the wild talents and eccentric moods of the new aesthetic movement in Europe. While he shared with it, as his early poems show, whatever was wonderful and delicately suggestive, he did not completely succumb to its influence, thanks to the sobering effect of Sanskrit poets whom he had studied devoutly and who had given him a sound body of Indian art and helped him to preserve his artistic independence and originality of tone and theme in the long run. He was safe to adopt the faculty of this foreign agency for "rendering certain half-tones of sentiment, a day-dream of tenderness, a diffused nostalgia, desires without a name and sorrows older than they." [2]

The exigency of art also forced Rabindranath to turn to the West for inspiration and guidance. During the formative period of his life he found Bengali poetry still in its experimental stage. In the social sphere Raja Rammohon Roy was making rapid headway towards reform, in the literary sphere Bankimchandra was importing new wine from the West to stimulate Bengali Fiction; but poetry had no such champion to take up her cause. The fitful stammers of Nabinchandra [3] and the tentative flutings of Biharilal (who attracted our boy poet so much) were more a promise than a fulfilment. Michael's noble melody so admirably caught from Western classics did not fit in with the essentially lyrical genius of Rabindranath and failed to arouse much interest in him.[4] For the same reason he hardly liked Milton.[5] The Bengali Muse was marching feebly with an awkward gait. As a result the poet became bored by his immediate surroundings and for relief turned towards the exotic, towards

[1] *Cf.* Dr. S. C. Sengupta—The Great Sentinel, pp. 2-3.
[2] A Century of French Poets, p. 55.
[3] Dr. Brojendranath Seal—New Essays in Criticism.
[4] *Cf.* Tagore's words in Dr. Thompson's book, p. 16.
[5] Dr. Thompson, p. 304.

the distant in time and place, and towards the abnormal and excessive in sentiment. It was this passionate desire for any sort of escape, even an imaginary one, that turned Rabindranath towards the West with its newly awakened rage for symbolism. That he early felt his mind in touch with the Western literature is shown by his numerous translations of foreign authors and treatises on foreign topics.[1]

The analysis of early poems of Rabindranath shows a symbolistic tendency born of the crossing of the East and West, mingling the restful and contemplative calm of the ancient Indians with the fulness and richness of the visions of the European artists.

In his early years the poet tends to show a certain morbidness and gloom that characterised so much the outlook of the Western symbolists. Like them he was haunted from the start of his poetic career by the desire of rising in the realms of mystery and of explaining the unknown. His first volume of poetry 'Evening Songs'[2], published in 1288 B.S., opens significantly with an evening reverie of the poet. As he rests, self-absorbed and home-sick, on the bank of a river, Evening sadly descends on earth and whispers to his ears about a thousand things lost for ever in its gloom. Many a forgotten tale of love, many a sigh of the spirit, many a memory of ancient converse, rise from the oblivion of a thousand ages and flock about him. The shadows of life suddenly grow longer and deeper. In a state between waking and sleeping he hears the message of the holy time quiet as a nun and breathless with adoration. Throughout the 'Evening Songs' the poet unlocks his heart in a large variety of moods in impassioned but halting outbursts of emotion. The supreme moments of emotional intensity or passion or ecstasy, create an imaginative feeling that expresses itself in symbolic treatment of sights and sounds, exquisite imagery, and an abiding sense of melancholy. "Verlaine" says a critic, "was a personal lyrist whose personality was perhaps rather the old romantic egoism with an added candour than the waste of evanescent moods which the typical symbolist 'evokes' by obscure and singular associations with the sensible world." Verlaine's aesthetic theory was that versified music

[1] Bharati, Vol. i-iv, which contains translations from Moore, Burns, Shakespeare, Shelley, Victor Hugo, Buchanan, Swinburne, and articles on 'Plutarch and Laura,' 'Dante and His Poetry,' 'The Saxons and the Anglo-Saxon Literature,' 'The Normans and the Anglo-Norman Literature.'

[2] The poet expressed a wish to exclude all earlier poems from the volume of his works.

should not merely accompany the idea but also call up "the sensation, the memory and the true correspondences as a perfume represents visions and images." The melody of 'Evening Songs' suggests the weaving of spells by incantation even to an Englishman's ear.[1]

'The Beginning of Song', a poem of some length, woos the Spirit of Poesy much as Shelley woos the Spirit of Delight in his Song (1802). According to an art critic, symbolism ought to physically manifest to all what is spiritualy accessible only to few. The metaphysical truths must be captured for the common man and embodied in beautiful images.' In 'The Beginning of Song', Poesy is asked to descend on the unhappy poet as Dawn descends on earth sliding the veil of Darkness by her two champak fingers (ll. 29-33); to fill his spirit with her breath as fragnance from an unknown wood fills his nostrils (ll. 37-38); to seize him as softly as timid love wells out of the heart to faint at the feet of the beloved (ll. 41-44). The inspiration awakened in a poet's heart by the diverse displays of Natural beauty has been effectively translated through symbols.

'The Wail of Happiness' is the wail of a sensitive soul cut off from the world of things. At this age the poet was obliged to live in isolation. He speaks feelingly of this period of his life in his 'Reminiscences'. Given no chance to realize his kinship with the world outside he felt like one in a prison-house whose walls were alien to him. It was only natural that his pent-up feelings discharged themselves in a series of pathetic declamation! The 'Wail of Happiness' represents the mood of a boy that is not allowed to stray in the world just turned into an unsubstantial, fairy place by the ravishing moonlight, piping of the distant flute, the silence of the drowsy Night, the blooming of flowers on the trees nodding in gentle breeze, the glimmer of stars overhead, and thousand other manifestations of Beauty. The joy that cannot be shared with any one is no joy at all." The lungs sobs of the violins of autumn wound my heart with a monotonous languor—I remember ancient days and I weep and glide along the wind like a dead leaf"—says Paul Verlaine. Our poet cannot do so—cannot glide along the wind—hence his sorrow.

'The Loss of Ego' records the poet's sadness due to the loss of his old finer self (ll. 27-28) that he had in his infancy. The shades of the prison-house now close in upon it (l. 69), daily the darkness increases (l. 29), dust of the road blinds it (l. 30), and it loses its

[1] Dr. Thompson, p. 40.

way in the wilderness which is none but his own heart (l. 31-32). During this time Rabindranath was steeped in Shelley; the lines (77-80) seem to be an echo of Shelley's "Music when soft voices die."

Nearly all other pieces in the volume are charged with this kind of emotional gloom so pronounced in the works of European artists. The outlook that characterises this volume of verse may be seen from the following passages :—

(*a*) Heart ! Then nothing you have learnt,
But this one song alone !
Among the thousand musics of the world,
Even this one moan.
(ls. 48-51, The Heart's Monody—Thompson's Translation)

(*b*) Come Sorrow, my darling,
In my heart I make a seat for thee,
Suck forth the blood
That is still in me.
(ls. 50-54, The Welcome of Sorrow)

(*c*) How can I get you in the heart of my hearts
How can I fill the void that reigns there?
(ls. 14-15, Love Unbearable)

(*d*) If once again I lose this wind, this hill,
This cloud, this wood, this rill,
If once more my dream snaps and this home
Of twilight crumbles down,
If again like a tempest-driven cloud I roam
Powerless in my will.....
Then I would be homeless for ever—for ever lost.
(ls. 74-82 Again).

This is nothing but the poetry of mood the despondent mood of a poet who was yet to find the surpassing wealth of meditation and who tried to weep away the life of care. The poems remind one of 'The Green Helmet' of W. B. Yeats who is one of the leaders of modern symbolistic movement, showing much kinship of spirit with Rabindranath.

Out of such moods as we find in the 'Evening Songs' did Paul Verlaine, the French symbolist, weave the embroideries of his poems. According to Mr. Symons, Verlaine's "whole art was a delicate waiting on moods in whose succession lies the more intimate part of our spiritual life." Even the metres used by Rabindranath in

this volume were a sort of 'vers-libres' so much in vogue with the "Decadents." [1]

In the 'Morning Songs,' which comes next a sunnier attitude is reached; the atmosphere is serene; the poet is out of the depths. Until now his mind was imprisoned in a web of narrow, congested life with its customary associations and routine ideas. In bondage the poet's personality had gathered momentum and suddenly burst loose the bonds that held him back. One fine morning as he stood on the *Verandah* of his house, the glory of the early dawn pierced in a moment the folds of sadness that wrapped him up so long; his heart was over-flooded with an universal light.[2] What made this unique phenomenon possible? "When our heart is fully awakened in love or in other great emotions our personality is in its flood-tide." [3] Poetry, says Browning, is an effluence not work. The sally of the waterfall in 'The Awakening of the Waterfall' is the visual representation of the sally of the poet's inspiration long imprisoned in a catacomb of doubts and fears. The light of another world suddenly strikes a super-sensitive soul and quickness it to new energy. It stirs the depths of the poet's soul which begins to assert itself in creation. The poet sings in joy:—

The prison of stones I will break, will deliver;
I will flood the earth with rapture mad,
Pour music glad.

(ls. 103-105, Thompson's Translation).

For the poet it is a time full of giddy bliss and joy of being yet he is gaining.

Truths that wake to perish never.

The gloom of gloaming over, he is now in the 'crimson-flood of dawn'—the alter-flame of joy kindled, he is henceforth a dedicated spirit, a priest set apart for the service of humanity. His impetuous desire to remould this sorry scheme of things nearer to his heart is symbolized in the terrible rush of the fountain of his song that would demolish all barriers of pretence, sham and artificiality and make the earth flow over in riotous excess of vegetation; would shake and wake the flowers sleeping in their buds. Ultimately like the fountain flowing into the ocean his song would merge itself in the great sea of humanity. The works of Madame de Stael present

[1] Dr. Thompson, p. 38.
[2] *Cf.* My Reminiscences, p. 217.
[3] Personality, p. 17.

a similar clash between the obstacles of life on one hand and the ever-expanding, passionate nature of man on the other. The symbolism of this poem, remarks Dr. Thompson, recurs throughout Rabindranath's works.

The poem is also valuable to the critics of his poetry for another point—it explains the reasons of his sadness in earlier poems:—

> I woke up to find that I did not see
> It was the blindness of my own self that imprisoned me.
> (ls. 31-32, The Awakening of the Waterfall).

Henceforth Rabindranath's poetry breathes a free air of idealism built on the solid foundation of a robust optimism that makes so triumphant an emergence in 'The Awakening of the Waterfall'. All other poems elucidate its central theme. The poet soars to higher heights and dives deeper into the depths of his consciousness. Gradually the poet becomes more and more a mystic and his treatment more and more symbolic. The spirit of man makes greater progress in the fields of consciousness and conquers larger domains.

In 'Creation, Preservation, Destruction' three eternal laws of life are symbolized through three Indian mythical deities. Brahma, the Creator, is the embodiment of Joy who creates the universe out of the fulness of his heart (ls. 13-15); Vishnu, the embodiment of Order, harnesses the wild molecules into form; the limitless is chained to limit. When Joy has been subdued and harmonized by order, Desire that awakens infinite longings in finite beings, springs on the lotus of Loveliness under the kind gaze of Vishnu. Joy that is wild and lawless is ineffectual for any creative effort. After Creation has moved through millions of ages to one eternal law there rises the cry for destruction. Siva, the Great God, dissolves it into flames and releases the molecules so that they may form into new bodies again. It is through destruction that creation perpetually renews itself. The piece is crammed with unforgettable images of vast Spaces and Primal Energies at work. They remind us of the cosmic visions used by Stephane Mallarme (1842-98) as the "materials of the Symbolist's theory of a new aesthetics". Such is also the scope and meaning of symbolism as defined by Carlyle in his 'Sartor Resartus'.

The 'Pictures and Song,' next volume of verse, was preceded by several dramatic sketches and bridged the gap of three years between the 'Morning Songs and the 'Sharps and Flats'.[1] That the poet was

[1] My Reminescences, p. 240.

now seeing the world steady and seeing it whole may be seen from the pictures drawn in contrast to what go before. Images have a prominence here for the faculty of many-sidedness had possessed the poet at this time[1]. Like Verlaine in his best pieces Rabindranath gives shape to the emotional flashes "appropriate to the poetic art in term of the painter's art." The images defy translation and can be best appreciated first hand.

A girl, alone,
At the evening hour
Walks through the fields.
On all sides of her the gold rice has ripened,
On her face the evening glow has fallen,
Light glitters on her hair.
(ls. 1-6! Alone', Thompson's Translation).

The last line reproduces the manner of Rossetti.

The most outstanding poem of the book is the 'Love of Rahu', Rahu's love stands for the eternal hunger of the human soul for Ideal Beauty that is ever elusive but ever pursued (ls. 120-121). Allowed a momentary glimpse of this Ideal man runs mad and roves over the face of the earth in its eternal quest (ls. 15-16). Rabindranath's Ideal of Beauty differs much in conception from that of Shelley and Spenser. The Indian poet is more mystic in his conception and approaches Yeats in this respect. What Yeats learnt from Oriental mysticism Rabindranath inherited in his blood as a son of this ancient land. Rahu symbolizes the spirit of the ardent lover who stalks the beloved with the tenacity of a curse and a destiny. This is a love that always seeks but never finds fruition in limited time. Ideal Beauty is an aspect of the Infinite, while the individual soul is finite ; the two can meet only at Infinity. Man's quest for such an Ideal is "Mortal clay's Immortal Passion". Like Death following Life, like form clinging to substance, like shadow beside light, this hound of earth pursues with unperturbed space and deliberate speed the fugitive of heaven[2]. The metre of the poem catches something of the rapid swing of Shelley's 'Arethusa' (1820) in which the River-God's hot and burning passion finds an echo in the rhythm itself. The clear, hard symbols used by our poet are bathed in fluid and fragile verse.

Uptill now the poet had been wandering in the streets round the dwelling of man; in 'Sharps and Flats' he steals a serenade before

[1] My Reminiscences, P. 240.
[2] *Cf.* 'The Hound of Heaven' by Francis Thompson.

that house of mystery[1]. The book is marked by an extraordinary development of the poet's imaginative sensibility. Man is the most complex being in the universe, he is both finite and infinite. His life is packed with contradictions that provoke the quest for the ultimate truth. Into the thread of man's life are twisted and twined desire (The Snare of Desire, P. 106); pride (The Poet's Pride, P. 100), expectation (Expectation, P. 98), Infirmity (Infirmity, P. 99), illusion (The Mirage, P. 90), hallucination (Charm, P. 88), weariness (Weariness, P. 87), joy (Laughter, P. 84), memory (Memory, P. 82) dreams and adorations (Youth's Dream and The Body, P. 75 and P. 82), longing (Longing, P. 72); separation (Separation, P. 68; etc.[2]). Through these diversities of emotions and experiences man achieves the Unity of Thought or Being. The manifold aspects of Beauty scattered the world over are but sprays from the central stream, therefore "look thy last on all things lovely, every hour."[3]. The key-note of 'Sharps and Flats' is struck in the couplet :—

This world is sweet, I do not want to die,
I wish to dwell in the ever-living life of man.

Not renunciation *of* action but renunciation *in* action is the true goal of his life. Rabindranath has a contempt for those who wish to give the slip to the actualities of life. For him is the calm of contemplation as well as the stress of life.

'Sharps and Flats' contains a large body of sonnets that are frankly erotic. Much fuss was made over their non-moral tone when they appeared. Critics lost sight of the peculiar kind of artistic satisfaction that the poet derived when he composed them. The eye of a young poet rolling in fine frenzy and glancing over the universe to ken the myriad manifestations of Beauty everywhere, cannot but fix for a time on the object of wonder, mystery and adoration that is so close to him, that is woman. Hers is a face for which a thousand poets have launched a thousand ships on the ocean of art; eternity is on her lips and kisses. Can a poet who worships Beauty with his heart and soul pass ever this object of infinite wonder and beauty in silence? This group of sonnets is a landmark in the development of Tagore's conception of Ideal Beauty. In the mental growth of every poet there comes a time when his thoughts put on a tinge of non-morality. Wordsworth had to pass through the coarser pleasures and

[1] My Reminiscences, P. 266.

[2] References of pages are to 'Rabindra-Rachanabali' Vol. 2.

[3] De la Mare.

glad animal movements of his boyish days[1]. Browning's and Yeats' early works are full of such passionate longing for a concrete object of earthly beauty. Some poets may suppress this phase of their life with effort but whenever they do so they keep a gap in their poetic growth and become insincere to themselves and to their art. Dr. Thompson misses the point when he says: "His (*i.e.*, Tagore's) pre-occupation with the body (*i.e.*, the body of a mistress) is literary rather than genuine; to me, at least, these sonnets read very insincerely."[2] Certainly the sonnets do not mean to convey the warmth of flesh, but the pre-occupation with the body is not also as certainly literary. Only this body is not the body of any earthly mistress but the body of sensuous Beauty made concrete and seen clearly by a mystical intuition. "The romantics and the symbolists both dwelt with beauty's phantoms ; though in their passion for the ideal the best of them also vividly remembered Beauty herself"[3]. In these sonnets Rabindranath only remembers vividly Beauty herself as it appeared to his youthful imagination.

It is well that critics did not try to identify any particular woman behind these sonnets. If they did, it would remain as perpetual a mystery as the 'dark lady' in Shakespeare. These sonnets are "Bijoyini" broken in a hundred fragments. If the poet adores woman it is because through the vest of her beauty burns the limb of another Beauty which is also God.

This stream of symbolism flows on through Tagore's poetry until it broadens to such proportions as found in his symbolistic dramas. Against one error the critic who follows the trail of this stream must guard himself. While we cannot ignore the conventional rules of interpretation which assign a fixed symbolical meaning to a large number of poems that are commonly seen in a different sense, such a method may be easily pushed too far. The ecstatic element appears at intervals in Tagore's early poetry and gives some of the odes a rhythm and a melody and above all a form. which create a strange air of communicating to the reader the same feeling of rapture in which they were composed. In the poems of the 'Evening Songs' this rapture, as we have seen, is tinged with a touch of cheap sentimentalism found in the European idealists; the poet is now like a sad Romeo playing troubadour at Beauty's window. In the 'Mornings Songs', 'Pictures and Songs' and 'Sharps and Flats', the symbolism becomes erotic and bacchannalian.

[1] *Cf.* Lines on Tintern Abbey.
[2] Page 56.
[3] The Times Literary Supplement-April, 23, 1949.

Round the World

Economy and Reorganisation in Secretariat

Sometime ago an Economy Committee was appointed by the Government of India to suggest ways and means for the reduction of expenditure. The report of this Committee is important not because of the recommendations it makes for economy but because of many facts it reveals. Actually the recommendations are too half-hearted to elicit enthusiasm in any circle. Out of the total civil expenditure of 145 crores the Committee's recommendations, if accepted and acted up to without modification, will result in the saving of about five crores. This will not take us far towards economy which has become so badly necessary.

As for the facts regarding the creation, during the last two years, of high salaried posts in the Central Secretariat, they are startling, to say the least. The following table will give us an idea as to this important matter:

Posts	1939	1949
Secretaries	9	19
Addl. Secretaries	nil	5
Joint Secretaries	8	40
Deputy Secretaries	12	89
Under and Asst. Secretaries	16	44
Superintendents	68	294
Assistants in Charge	8	148

It should be remembered that Secretaries and Additional Secretaries have the same salary of Rs. 4,000 per month and Joint Secretaries receive Rs. 3,000 a month. In other words the old salary scale which came in for so much criticism at the hands of our public men and public organisations has been maintained and at the same time the number of officers has been increased several-fold. It should be remembered that Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and other high officers enjoy other amenities which may be the envy of princes.

It is true that with the achievement of freedom new responsibilities have been thrown upon the Government and it would have been difficult to cope with them without additional experienced and responsible hands. So some increase in staff and superior staff at that was inevitable. But there must be something wrong somewhere to explain the increase on the scale the figures above happen to indicate. The Economy Committee has suggested some reduction in this increase. We, however, do not know on what basis it made its recommendations and whether it was duly qualified to go into the matter at all. Economy in administration is

essential but that is not the only ground on which the matter should be enquired into. Efficiency is not necessarily increased by the increase in staff. Sometimes in fact it is retarded by it when increase is haphazard and unaccompanied by proper allocation of duties and responsibilities.

In view of this a Staff Requirements Committee should be set up. In England after the first World War the Machinery of Government Committee was set up under the chairmanship of the late Lord Haldane. It was of course concerned mainly with the reshuffling of portfolios and determining the number of members of the Cabinet. Some such Committee with wider scope of enquiry and recommendation may now be established. It would consider not only the amount of increase in the duties and responsibilities of the Central Government and the number of officers and men required to cope with them but also the different categories of officers actually required. It will for instance consider whether there is any longer any necessity of maintaining such two categories of junior officers as Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, whether the posts of Joint Secretaries should not be abolished and their duties performed by Deputy Secretaries and whether two or more Secretaries should be allowed to any Department. Further this Committee should go into the question of the salary scale of the officers. The present scale compares much too favourably with the scale maintained in Whitehall, this particularly in view of the fact that England is so much the richer country.

Secretaries and their assistants should not be expected to live a penurious life. They should have enough and to spare. But they should not be at the same time allowed to wallow in luxury at the expense of the taxpayer. It should be remembered in this connection that the present scale was introduced under British rule to suit the conditions of imported labour. A British officer argued that he had as a rule to maintain two establishments, one in this country and one in England. Even when his wife lived with him here, his children had to be educated in England. Consequently he required as Secretary Rs. 4,000 per month. These arguments have become invalid with the Indianisation of the staff. There can be no complaint if the salary is now reduced by fifty per cent. Rs. 2,000 for the Secretary to a Department at New Delhi should not be regarded as a mean sum. Nor should there be too much of disparity between the emoluments of the Secretary and those of the other officers who are to assist him. In any event these are matters for an expert enquiry which should not be delayed.

Just as the Central Secretariat has been inflated beyond compare, so also the Provincial Secretariats have become topheavy in many instances. In a Department of one such Secretariat there were not long ago one Secretary, one Deputy Secretary and one or two Assistant Secretaries. At present inspite of conditions which might have justified reduction in staff, the Secretary is assisted by four Deputies, one special

officer and a corresponding number of Assistant Secretaries. There should be proper enquiry into these provincial establishments as well and the salary scale there also should be subjected to scrutiny.

Subjects of Examination in the B.C.S. Examination

Some candidates have voiced their grievances in the daily press regarding the number of marks allotted to the subjects in which they have either passed their Bachelor's examination with Honours or attained the Master's degree. Those with Statistics and Geography for instance have grumbled that their subjects have been allotted only 150 marks whereas History of Islam has been given 300.

Allotment of marks is made, so far as we know, on the basis of the comparative cultural value of the different subjects. B.C.S. Examination like corresponding All-India Examinations for the recruitment of civil servants are intended to test the general intellectual equipment and discipline of the candidates. Consequently those subjects which provide such equipment and discipline better have more marks allotted to them. At one time on this ground Political Economy was not a subject allowed to be taken by the candidates in the Competitive Examination for the recruitment of members of the I.C.S. This subject was then in its infancy and was not regarded as having any general cultural value. Later, however, as the subject developed and as its study ensured intellectual equipment and mental discipline, it was admitted as a subject. Sometimes, of course, for political reasons there were vagaries in the allotment of marks to particular subjects in this Examination. Sanskrit, for instance, which had originally the same status as Greek or Latin was later given lesser marks in order that Indian candidates might be at a disadvantage. Similarly History of Islam might have been given for political reasons higher status than Geography or Statistics. In any event we believe it is time for the Provincial Public Service Commission to enquire into the status of different subjects of examination and make fresh recommendations.

Roosevelts in American Politics

The American correspondent of a local newspaper draws our attention to the part which is yet being played by the Roosevelts in the politics of the U.S.A. In Britain with its feudal traditions some families have been prominent in national and imperial politics for generations. Cecils. Churchills, Cavendishes, to name only a few, have loomed large in British politics for centuries. With the rolling up of the feudal map, this tradition is fast dying out and new men without any past are coming increasingly to the front. In the United States the industrial aristocracy consisting, according to a prominent writer, of about two thousand families may be pulling the strings from behind and influencing the course of both national and state politics. But political personnel have not been confined to any group of

families. The so-called Virginian Dynasty supplying such Presidents as Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe was not based on any hereditary principle. All of them came from Virginia but as their names would indicate they came from different families. There is only one instance of father and son being both elevated to the White House—John Adams and John Quincy Adams. This family remained in fact for over a century prominent in public life and it should not be taken for granted that its influence has become altogether extinct now. There are some other families also which have maintained political influence for more than one generation. But none of these latter have yet supplied two Presidents. Senator Taft's father was President for a term and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for nearly a decade. But the son can no longer aspire to be the first citizen. Two Roosevelts have occupied the White House, one for nearly eight years and the other for over twelve years. But they were not as closely related as the common family name may indicate to the unwary. So the example of the Adamses has not yet been repeated by the Roosevelts. We are, however, now informed that two sons of Franklin Delano Roosevelt are now in the political arena. The eldest is a member of the Democratic National Committee and is an aspirant for the Governorship of California. That one of the Roosevelts of New York should be a political aspirant in the opposite coast only indicates that state boundaries do not mean as much in the U.S.A. as provincial boundaries mean in India. The third son who bears his father's initials has come to the House of Representatives being returned there by a New York constituency in the teeth of opposition of both the great Parties. We are told that none of the brothers will remain where they are. They will go ahead and the mantle of the great father may fall on one at least. So the Roosevelts are still kicking.

Future Pattern of Universities in India

The Indian Universities Commission is expected to submit its report in September next. Meanwhile there is some speculation as to the kind of recommendations it will make regarding the future set-up of Universities in this country. Various types are now at work. Some are affiliating institutions, affiliating not only colleges but also secondary schools. It is an outstanding question whether schools should be taken out of their control and placed under the direction of some Secondary Board of Education. The next question is whether intermediate classes of colleges which are affiliated to the Universities should also be detached and placed under the supervision and control of the Secondary Board. We believe none of these two questions should be decided according to any theoretical conception and ideal. Decision should be taken only in the light of conditions in a particular area or province. What is real may not conform to an ideal but what is ideally right may be dangerous

in practice to the cause of education. It may not be feasible to devise a uniform system for the whole country. Different systems may have to prevail in different parts in the light of their needs and past traditions.

The affiliating Universities are not of one type. Some are practically affiliating only up to the first degree stage, post-graduate studies being pursued under the auspices of the Universities themselves. Some, however, have taken up post-graduate education also only partly. There are Universities again which are purely of the teaching type. They have taken up both under-graduate and post-graduate education under their own wings. But they are not necessarily residential. In one or two Universities only emphasis is placed on residence and most of the students are expected to reside in the University premises and their studies outside college hours are as much supervised by University staff as their work in the lecture halls.

With regard to post-graduate education and conduct of research there are no two opinions that they should be exclusively under the direct authority of the Universities. But otherwise there may be scope for diversity of organisation. In any event we believe no provincial government should initiate any proposal for the reform of educational organisation either in the higher or in the secondary stage pending the publication of the report by the Commission of which Professor Radhakrishnan is the Chairman. Already a report has been published in the newspapers regarding the steps which the Government of Bihar is contemplating to take by way of improving and reforming higher education in that province. We are told that what the Government of Bihar intends to do is to limit the jurisdiction of the present Patna University to the city of Patna and to set up an affiliating University for the rest of the province. We are not expressing any opinion at present on the merits of the proposal. But we believe the report is premature and the Government will do nothing in this regard before it is in possession of the recommendations of Professor Radhakrishnan and his colleagues.

Chandernagore votes for accession to India

In June last the much awaited plebiscite was held in Chandernagore. It yielded the clear verdict (by 7,473 to 114) of the people there that they desired withdrawal from the French Union and accession to India. The result has been placed officially before the French Government and it is likely that before this paragraph is in print that Government would find it possible to act up to the desire of the people of Chandernagore and facilitate their merger with India. There were two observers appointed by the Vice-President of the International Court of Justice. The Government of India had taken serious objection to the manner of selecting these observers. Their contention was that the observers should be selected in a manner acceptable to both Governments. The objection has been

admitted by the French Government in principle and it has been decided that observers acceptable to both Governments would alone be appointed for plebiscite in other existing French possessions in this sub-continent. But so far as Chandernagore was concerned the holding of the plebiscite was imminent and observers already chosen were allowed to remain on the scene. In any event the verdict has been issued by the citizens of Chandernagore without any hitch. All is well that ends well.

Chandernagore has been in French hands for over two hundred and fifty years. The plebiscite marks the end of this long connection with France. Apart from the fact that all autocratic and foreign rule is bad, the people of this small town had not many particular grievances against French administration which made possible the infiltration of Gallic culture in this country. Since the 18th century our contact with the West has been pre-eminently through Britain. The European culture and learning that we imbibed during this long period were essentially of the British variety. This monotony was to some extent relieved by the inculcation of French culture through Chandernagore and Pondicherry. To this extent French rule made some contribution to the growth of variety in our culture and civilisation. But we should repeat that all foreign rule is bad and militates against the first principle of the governance of human affairs. So French administration has to be rolled up just as in the wider sphere British administration has been rolled up. India is now free and as such it is possible for her to make Western contacts in her own way. It is no longer expected that whatever we are to learn from the West we shall learn only from Anglo-Saxon countries. Our contact with France should become more intimate than it had been in the past.

It is a matter of gratification that at least one hurdle has been crossed without any violence in the development of better relations with France. Our Government has pinned its faith to peaceful means for the solution of the problem which French and Portuguese possessions have presented. The accession of Chandernagore as a result of the recent peaceful plebiscite will confirm us in that faith. We hope and believe that the problem in respect of the other French possessions also will be solved in the same way.

Bengalees in other Provinces

Recently in course of an address His Excellency Sri Sriprakash, the Governor of Assam, referred to the unpopularity of the Bengalee settlers in Assam, Orissa, Bihar and U.P. Evidently he was taking a serious view of the continuous opposition in Assam to the settlement of Hindu refugees there from East Pakistan and in that connection while he was deprecating the provincialism which such opposition indicated, he also thought that there was something wrong with the Bengalee settlers, other-

wise they could not be simultaneously unpopular in four neighbouring provinces.

Unpopularity may not be due to one cause and for it responsibility may not attach to one party only. Indian settlers are unpopular and unwelcome simultaneously in South Africa and other territories. Should it be said that Indian settlers are alone or even predominantly responsible for this unpopularity? They may have their shortcomings but certainly the main reason must be sought elsewhere. In the same way Bengalee settlers in other provinces may have shown defects of character which alienate them from local people. At the same time they may not be alone or even largely responsible for their unpopularity.

The fact is India is divided into a number of linguistic and racial groups. Sometimes provincial boundaries coincide with them and sometimes they do not. As an instance of the latter we may take Bihar and U. P. They are two provinces. But their people broadly represent one linguistic and racial group. Now along with the growth of the Indian nationalist movement, the different linguistic and racial groups in the country also became increasingly self-conscious. With the attainment of freedom they have become positively assertive. The result is while one group may not object to the temporary stay in its own territory of people belonging to another racial and linguistic group, it sets its face against the permanent settlement of the latter in its province. Such opposition to inter-provincial migration may not be as a rule noticeable when people belong to the same linguistic group. The people of Bihar may not object to the settlement in their province of people coming from U.P. Even in such cases opposition, though never extreme, may not be wholly absent. Localism of one kind begets localism of all kinds. The refugees from East Bengal are on that account not always welcome in territories which comprise West Bengal. But opposition becomes more insistent and even violent when people of another linguistic group try to settle in a province.

Opposition takes many forms. Land may be refused to these "outsiders" willing to settle. They may not be admitted to colleges, schools, and technical institutions except on the basis of domicile certificates which may not be easy to secure. They may not be admitted to Government service and even given trade licence except on the same stringent condition. These restrictions again may, it should be repeated, apply to one racial and linguistic group while people belonging to another group may be shown greater and better courtesy. That is because of the fact that a large body of the former may be already settled and local prejudice against them may be already manifest, while the latter may be only just coming and no antipathy may have yet developed against them.

In any event so long as the Muslim problem remains dormant in India because of the partition of the country on a communal basis, inter-provincial

rivalry representing the jealousy between one linguistic and racial group and another is the major problem before the country and the Government. If it is not solved satisfactorily within a limited period it will engulf nationalism and make a mockery of the Indian Union. There is no one recipe for this deep-seated malady. It cannot be cured except by a well planned attack. The Indian Constitution which is otherwise being given a unitary bias remains weighted in favour of provincialism in this regard. For instance people of one province will have the right of moving over to another province and settling there, subject to certain existing laws which will remain sacrosanct. In other words if an existing law provides for the taking of a certificate of domicile (which by the way is not easy to secure) before any "outsider" may be regarded as a citizen of that province, the new Constitution may be of no help to him. This is a position not conducive to Indian unity but to the strengthening of inter-provincial rivalry and jealousy. There is yet time to rectify this defect of the Constitution which is otherwise being framed with so much care. The question should be reopened before the second reading is completed.

The problem is again not to be attacked only from the constitutional front. The social side is equally, if not more, important. His Excellency Sri Sriprakash has rightly emphasised that when a man from one province migrates to another, he should not look behind but identify himself with the people of the province in which he is now settled. Such identification is possible to some extent when the new settler is psychologically prepared for it. But such identification cannot be full and complete until he may establish social and matrimonial connections with the local people. Social barriers have been unbridgeable in our country because of caste restrictions and other ancillary difficulties. It is time that serious attempts are made to do away with such restrictions. To this end continuous propaganda is necessary. It is, however, unfortunate that except in the case of the abolition of untouchability no attention has been given to this urgent social question. Inter-caste marriages within a province are heard of once in a blue moon. But inter-provincial matrimonial alliances are more few and far between. The All India Radio may introduce a daily item to popularise inter-caste and inter-provincial marriages. We do not expect that the thick crust of prejudice that now exists will be removed in the twinkle of an eye. But an atmosphere may be created and attention of the people may be rivetted on the subject. That will be no mean again.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Jati-Baera or Amader Deshatmabodh—By Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, Foreword by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. Published by S. K. Mittra, Bros., 12, Narikelbagan Lane, Calcutta, pp 224. Price Rs. 3/-

In the thirteen chapters and four appendices of the book, the author has tried to give an account, based on documentary evidence with which the ordinary reader is not familiar, of the general trend of nationalistic sentiments in Bengal from the early years of the 19th century down to about the emergence of the Indian National Congress as the political organ of progressive India. Incidentally, he has taken occasion to say much about the antagonism felt against Indian patriotism and expressed in various ways by Europeans but he has not failed to give credit to those who, with a longer vison, welcomed it.

Originally published as a serial in the well-known Bengali monthly "Mandira", it has been written in such a manner that each chapter can be read and enjoyed by itself. And it is so because the primary object has apparently been to teach one particular aspect of the history of Bengal in an entertaining way—a task discharged with eminent success.

H. C. Mookerjee

General Economic History (of Modern Times upto 1940)—By S. B. Mahabal, M. A. Vora & Co., Publishers, Ltd. Bombay 2. Price Rs. 5/8/-

It is pleasing to come across a handbook like this which surveys within the small compass of 287 pages the history of economic organisations almost all over the world from about the 15th century upto 1914. The generalities and particularities are kept clearly apart but related: universal trends and local peculiarities are simultaneously brought out in a lucid style. The author does not merely describe economic institutions and activities; he goes into the deeper currents and underlying forces of economic change in a bigger social perspective. And quite unobtrusively he leads the reader from the simple mechanisms of the early age to the highly complicated operations of this century.

There are, however, serious omissions. No mention is made of modern currency and banking processes, the means of international exchange and the dominating control of finance capital. The remarks on Fascism and on Socialism attained by ballot are either propagandist or utopian. The book also lamentably lacks an index. A more unfortunate drawback is the printing. This is replete with errors which are not limited

to spelling only and sometimes get into important dates and into the grammar and construction of sentences which occasionally confuse the meaning. It is a disgrace to publishers to bring out a standard text book for college students in such slip-shod manner.

The get-up and cover are handy.

Atindranath Bose

The Present Need for History—By J. R. M. Butler. Cambridge University Press, 1949. pp 39. Price 1/6d.

This is an Inaugural Lecture delivered on 26th January, 1949, as Regius Professor of Modern History in the Universiry of Cambridge. Such Lectures in the past always opened new vistas of thought to historians all over the world. Professor Butler's is also not an exception to this rule. He has referred within the short compass of this Lecture to several questions which have exercised the mind of historians. Here we shall refer particularly to the question of current history on which the Professor has dwelt rather elaborately. There are, as Macaulay emphasised, "great objections to contemporary history". "But it has", Professor Butler observes, "also great and obvious attractions, and the world would have been immeasurably poorer if contemporary history had never been written. We need only think of Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus." Lord Acton by whom it is so easy to swear included the recent past in the study of history. But he believed that what was contemporary differed from this category. "Many of its facts," he thought, "cannot by us be definitely ascertained." But conditions in which present-day historians happen to work are far more favourable to the study of the contemporary than they were in the time of Acton. The First World War and still more the Second have brought to light facts about human affairs at the present time, which make the writing of contemporary history more easy than it had ever been in the past. "The war of 1914-18 may have put out the lights of Europe, but it opened her archives .... The Second World War has had even more startling results. The Allied armies overran the three enemy countries and in the case of Germany captured the bulk of her most important military and diplomatic archives. A selection from these has been made public in the course of the Nuremberg trials ... In this country three volumes of British diplomatic documents covering the years between the two wars have already been brought out by Oxford scholars, and the rest are to follow." But while contemporary history may be written on the basis of necessary materials, the question may be asked if it should be called "history at all." Acton's observation may be repeated that many facts of contemporary history cannot be definitely ascertained inspite of the archives being open. But Professor Butler asks "of what period is that not true?" There is again the conviction

that a writer who is too near the events may not be able to describe them in proper perspective. "This is true if we are thinking of anything like a final history. But the opinion is commonly held today that, in so far as history means something more than the mere recording of facts; every age must write its own, and that even as regards facts every age will have its own ideas as to what facts are worth recording. Croce, indeed, was so strongly impressed by the importance of the subjective element, of the eye of the beholder, that he affirmed all history to be contemporary history."

The Problem of Indonesia—By Sirdar D. K. Sen, pp 19, Price -/12/-

This is the first pamphlet by Sirdar D. K. Sen, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law, in the series of Indian Studies in International Law and Diplomacy which he has started.

The pamphlet was printed before the Dutch made an end of the Republic by military action in December last. Consequently it has no reference to what has happened in Indonesia subsequent to that aggressive action. It, however, discusses the previous issues with ability and clarity. As it is well known, two days after the formal surrender of Japan, the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimad (on the 17th August, 1945). The Government of the Netherlands, however, did not recognise it at once. On the contrary it made an attempt to dismiss the Republic as "a Japanese creation." But the popularity of the Republic among the Indonesians and the strength it came to acquire convinced an influential section of the Dutch people that a more practical approach should be made by their Government towards the Indonesian people. In this regard the influence of M. Logemann, Minister of Overseas Territory, proved very salutory. Accordingly on the 15th November, 1946 an agreement was arrived at between the Government of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia. It became famous as Linggadjati Agreement. It was vaguely worded no doubt but the Netherlands Government gave *de facto* recognition to the Republic. This *de facto* recognition by the Netherlands Government was followed by similar recognition of the Republic by other powers, including the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Egypt, Syria, Iran and India.

In violation of the Linggadjati Agreemeent there was 'police action' in Indonesia by the Dutch in 1947. Consequently at the instance of Australia and India the dispute was referred to the Security Council at Lake Success. The Dutch Government now took the plea that whatever action was taken in Indonesia was an internal matter of the state of the Netherlands. The United Nations had nothing to do with it. The question is if the problem of Indonesia was an internal problem at all. In this connection the pamphlet includes a few paragraphs which clarify the position from the standpoint of International Law. The author first refers to the opinion held by one school that a state "begins to exist in international law as soon as it exists in fact." In other words no recognition of its

Ourselves

Vice-Chancellor Returns

The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, who had been to North America to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Association of Commonwealth Universities, which was held at Halifax in June last, and to study at first hand the working of Universities in Canada and in the U. S. A., returned to Calcutta in the second week of the last month.

While in Canada he attended the National Conference of Canadian Universities which also was held at Halifax and to which he had been invited by its President. He further attended, as it has been noticed already in this journal, the Special Convocation of the McGill University of Montreal to receive, at the hands of its Chancellor, the degree of Doctor of Laws *honoris causa*. In this connection we are inserting below the letters he received from the Vice-Chancellor and Principal, McGill University, who, it should be mentioned incidentally, happened also to be the President of the National Conference of Canadian Universities.

Principal and Vice-Chancellor
F. Cyril James

McGill University
Montreal 2
April 18th, 1949

Dear Professor Banerjee,

May I, on behalf of the Senate of McGill University, invite you to be present at a Special Convocation to be held on the afternoon of Friday, June 17th, in order that the Chancellor may confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*.

This Special Convocation will, except for the dinner that evening, be the concluding ceremony of the meetings of the Executive Council of the A. U. B. C. and I hope very much indeed that it will be possible for you to be present on this occasion since McGill University has an unbroken tradition which prevents the conferring of honorary degree *in absentia*.

May I add a word of my own personal pleasure on this decision of the Senate and with renewed good wishes, remain,

Cordially yours
F. Cyril James.

Professor Pramathanath Banerjee,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta,
Senate House, College Street,
Calcutta, India.

Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
F. Cyril James

McGill University
Montreal, 2
April 23rd, 1949

Dear Professor Banerjee,

Although the formal invitations to the various functions may not reach you for some days I should like, in my capacity of President of the National Conference of Canadian Universities, to invite you cordially to be present at the meeting of that Conference which will be held in Halifax, immediately following the meeting of the Executive Council of the Association of the Universities of the British Commonwealth, from Monday, June 13th to Wednesday, June 15th.

You will already have received from myself an invitation to be present at the Special Convocation in order that you may be invested with a degree, *honoris causa*, and I should like to express the hope that you will be able to be present at the dinner, in Montreal, on the evening of Friday, June 17th which McGill University is tendering to the Vice-Chancellors and University Presidents from the overseas Dominions and from Canada. It is our hope that the Rt. Hon'ble Louis St. Laurent, the Prime Minister of Canada, will be present on that occasion.

Looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you again and with best personal wishes, I remain.

Cordially yours
F. Cyril James.

Professor Pramathanath Banerjee,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta,
Calcutta, India.

The Vice-Chancellor visited several of the Universities in Canada, which are at present sixteen in number and are of three categories—those modelled on British Universities, those modelled on American Universities and those which are French. University of Toronto is certainly the biggest of them but McGill enjoys a very high reputation throughout the world for the quality of work it does in certain important branches of learning. It was good that Indian students

were increasingly attending Canadian Universities. The Vice-Chancellor entertains also a very high opinion of the role of the American Universities some of which he took this opportunity to visit. "America has become great because of its advanced University education," he observed in course of a press interview. Their equipment was his despair. Resources here in India are too meagre and slender for institutions to be built upon American scale. It was, however, a great pleasure to him to know from Professor Chalmers who was in charge of foreign students of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Boston that he had a very high opinion of Indian students.

One of the subjects discussed at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Association of Commonwealth Universities was that of exchange of teachers and senior students among them. The total number of such Universities and University Colleges now is about 90 and we are glad to learn that a scheme has been evolved to bring about exchange of teachers and senior students.

* * *

"SARKAR PROMOTES FRIENDSHIP BONDS"

Under the above heading Michigan Daily of Ann Arbor has the following about Professor Benoy Sarkar who is at present at Ann Arbor as a Visiting Professor:

"It is my endeavour to promote and place on a scientific foundation the bonds of the spiritual comradeship and practical alliance between the people of the United States and India."

That is the philosophy of Prof. Benoy Sarkar, chairman of the economics and commerce departments of the University of Calcutta, India.

Prof. Sarkar, a guest of the University this summer, conducts a course on the peoples and cultures of India, under the auspices of the anthropology department. The course is taught in conjunction with the geography, history, fine arts, economics and political science departments.

* * *

"This is the first time such a complete course on India has been offered by the University." Prof. Sarkar said: "The study of India will be presented in perspective to developments in Asia as well as in Europe and America."

Prof. Sarkar also conducts the India Colloquium at 4-15 p.m. every Tuesday in the West Conference Room, Rackham Building.

* * *

Authorities on different phases of India will be guest speakers. The colloquium is another innovation of the Summer Session, and all meetings are open to the public.

Prof. Sarkar has already given talks on diverse topics about India at nearly 30 universities since early March.

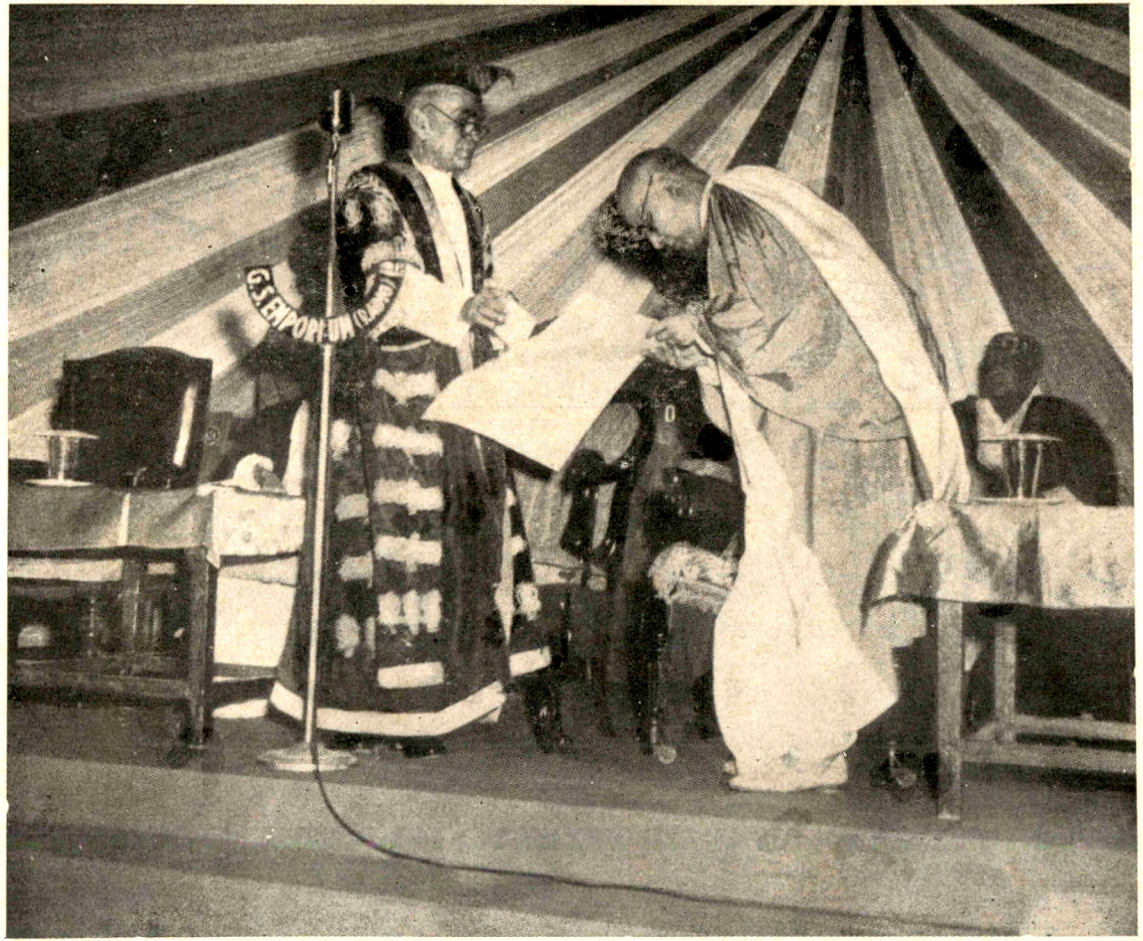
"After August I will proceed west in accordance with the itinerary furnished by the International Institute of Education, under whose auspices I am here," he said.

* * *

The Professor's contacts with the University go back to 1910: "At that time I sent five scholars, including my brother, from the National College of Engineering at Calcutta to the University for higher learning in technology. Since then, the role of the University in developing the National Engineering College has always been effective."

"The new Dominions of India is witnessing the beginnings of a renaissance in agriculture, industry, education that is affecting the daily life of the people. Therefore India is looking for further collaboration and cultural intimacy with American educational institutions and business enterprises."

"President Ruthven, Prof. Louis A. Hookins, director of the Summer Session, Dean Hayward Keniston of the literary college and Prof. Leslie A. White of the Anthropology department were personally interested and instrumental in having the culture of India presented to the students of the University."



The Vice-Chancellor receiving the degree at the hands of the Chancellor
at the Special Convocation.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1949

MM. DR. SATISCHANDRA VIDYABHUSAN

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.LITT. (PARIS)
Calcutta University

XI

Having found out the two systems of Medieval Indian Logic (*viz.* Jain and Buddhist), Prof. Vidyabhusan embodied them in the form of a thesis, named "A short history of the Medieval School of Indian Logic." The substance of this thesis, in which he thoroughly expounded the Medieval Indian Logic, is as follows:—

Nyaya Sutra is the standard work on Ancient Indian Logic. Nyayavatara by the Jain sage Siddhasena Divakara and Pramana-Samuccaya by the Buddhist sage Dignaga are standard works on Medieval Indian Logic. In Nyayasutra, Akshapada stated, defined and examined sixteen categories:—

প্রমাণ, প্রমেয়, সংশয়, প্রয়োজন, দৃষ্টান্ত, সিদ্ধান্ত, প্রতিপক্ষ, অবয়ব, তর্ক,
নির্ণয়বাদ, জল্প, বিতণ্ডা, হেত্বাভাব, ছল, জাতি, নিগ্রহস্থান।

Siddhasena and Dignaga took up প্রমাণ and elaborated in such a way that it might include other categories as far as they were consistent with science of general knowledge. Inference (a kind of প্রমাণ), which was very briefly noticed by Akshapada, received a full treatment at the hands of Siddhasena and Dignaga. Great subtleties were introduced by them into the theory of Syllogism, definition of terms, etc. They rejected প্রমেয়। The science of Logic as modified in this way was Medieval Logic.

This thesis, by means of which Prof. Vidyabhusan succeeded in establishing the continuity of the development of Indian Logic from ancient times to the foundation of the Modern School, was submitted by him to the Calcutta University in 1908 ; and he was most deservedly honoured by the University with the degree of 'Doctor of Philosophy' (Ph.D.), he being the first recepient of the Doctorate degree[1]—the highest degree of the University. He also won 'Griffith Memorial Prize', a prize awarded by the Calcutta University for encouragement of advanced study in Science and letters to the most meritorious candidate producing the best essay or record of original work in some department of Science or of letters. Henceforth he was called 'Dr. Vidyabhusan.' [2]

"The value of Dr. Vidyabhusan's work, *viz.*, 'A Short History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic' (subsequently published by him under the auspices of the Calcutta University) as a contribution to the philosophical thought may well be judged from the extensive quotations made therefrom in the monumental work in Italian on Indian philosophy by Dr. Luigi of the University of Bologna." [3]

"This work of Dr. Vidyabhusan was received with acclamation in the circle of orientalists of Europe and America ; and an erudide Italian historian of Indian philosophy wrote of his achievements in terms which would make every Indian feel proud." [4]

To create a desire for original investigation or research among advanced students of colleges and members of outside public interested in education and culture, a series of lectures was organised by the Calcutta University, known as 'University Extension lectures.' Eminent scholars were invited to take part in the scheme by delivering a course of lectures on special subjects. The first lectures[5] were delivered by Dr. Vidyabhusan.[6]

[1] "This afternoon, for the first time, we have conferred the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy upon two of our distinguished graduates—Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan for contributions to the History of Indian Logic and Dr. A. Suhrawardy for contributions to Mahomedan Jurisprudence". (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's Convocation address, dated 14th March, 1908).

[2] This led Dr. Stephen to remark that Dr Vidyabhusan was known by his titles and not by his name—a remark which evoked hearty laughter from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and others present.

[3] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's lecture in the Asiatic Society, dated 3rd February, 1915.

[4] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's statement extracted from the minutes of the Senate, dated 23rd August, 1919.

[5] Lectures on 'Education is ancient India' etc.

[6] Some of his writings during this period :—

(*a*) Bauddha-Stotra-Sangraha (a collection of Buddhist hymns)—Vol. I (1908 ,

XII

About this time the post of the Principal of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, fell vacant on the retirement of MM. Haraprosad Sastri. The following observations of 'Englishman' expressed public opinion : "This post ought to be given to Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan who has earned fame as a Sanskritist of great repute. Though so young, he is a man of comprehensive reading and has won European reputation by his researches in the field of Sanskrit,[1] Pali and Tibetan history and scriptures. In Pali and Buddhist philosophy he is regarded in high esteem as one of the highest authorities whose weight is above challenge. As a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as a frequent contributor to learned journals and as an expounder by pen and word of intricate archaeological problems, he has given proof of deep learning and brilliant versatility which mark him out for the highest honours open to an Indian Pandit." The Lieutenant Governor discussed this matter with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the President of the Governing Body of the Sanskrit College and of the Board of Sanskrit Studies, who opined that Dr. Vidyabhusan was admirably qualified for the post.

The Principal of a college should be a successful teacher, skilled in the modern methods of research ; this Dr. Vidyabhusan already was. The Principal of a college must also possess administrative ability of a high order; and the Principal of Sanskrit College must have the added qualification of being completely trained in Sanskritic studies.[2] Dr. Vidyabhusan was deputed by the Government "to fill the post of the Principal of Mahinda College, Ceylon"[3] which was to furnish him

(*b*) Two Tibetan charms obtained by Lt. Col. Stuart H. Godfrey of Ladakh, one for chasing away evil spirits and the other for compelling fortune—2 Vols. (J.A.S.B., 1908, NS, *iv*).

(*c*) Some rare works on Grammar, Lexicography, and Prosody recovered from Tibet (Journals and Proceedings of ASB, 1908). This paper gives a short account of those works, the Sanskrit originals of several of these being still extinct in India. The Tibetan versions are included in the Tangyur which Prof. Vidyabhusan examined while residing at Pamiangchi monastery. A most remarkable work in the lot is Chando-ratnakara by Ratnakar Santi of Vikramasila, the Sanskrit original of which is extinct in India but preserved in Tibet with the Tibetan version.

[1] To quote, for instance, from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's lecture in the Asiatic Society, dated 1st February, 1911 : "In the domain of Sanskrit learning, we have important contributions from MM Haraprasad Sastri and MM. Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan. Their papers raise important questions in connection with ancient and medieval history."

[2] "হিন্দুসমাজে এবং হিন্দু সংস্কৃতি ক্ষেত্রে সংস্কৃত-কলেজের অধ্যক্ষের একটা বিশেষ প্রতিষ্ঠা আছে। সংস্কৃত ভাষা ও শাস্ত্র সম্বন্ধে এবং সামাজিক ব্যবস্থায় ও বিধানে তাঁহার অভিমত প্রামাণস্বরূপ গৃহীত হইয়া থাকে।"

(Ananda Bazar Patrika, the 19th June, 1947).

[3] Indian Mirror, 28-4-20.

with necessary administrative training, and to complete Sanskritic studies under the renowned professors of Benares which was famous as a centre of Sanskritic learning.

On the 20th June, 1909, he started for Colombo, reaching the same on the 25th June.[1] He completed his studies on Pali and Buddhism under the guidance of Venerable Sri Sumangala Mahathero, Principal Vidyodaya College, Colombo, and High Priest of Ceylon,[2] and carried on researches on Pali and Buddhist philosophy. For this purpose, he visited Mihintale hill, Kandy, Anuradhapuram, Neruville, Kalutara, Gaulface, etc. and also the Buddhist monasteries and remains at Galle, Dodondwa and To-to-go-mo (Tirthagrama), and received addresses from all important monasteries.[3] Invited by the distinguished men of Ceylon (such as Rev. Anagarika Dhammapala, Sir D. B. Jaytilaka, Prof. Nasiar and others), he delivered lectures[4] on his researches.[5] On the 24th December, a farewell meeting (presided over by Sir Hugh Clifford, the then Governor of Ceylon) was convened. Dr. Vidyabhusan first addressed in English; then he read out an address in Sanskrit in 40 stanzas, describing his reminiscences of Ceylon. On the 25th December, he started back for India.[6]

The first six months of 1910 he spent at Benares. Here he completed his Sanskritic studies ; and discussed abstruse questions on the Vedas with Shibkumar Sastri, Jain philosophy with Jibnath Jha and all branches of Hindu philosophy (including the philosophy of Sankara and the doctrine of Ramanuja) with Pandit Subramanya Sastri Bhagbatacharyya and others.

On his return, he became the Principal of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and the Secretary of the Board of Sanskrit Examinations.*

[1] He used to stay at a house in front of Vidyodaya Parivena (College) which contains a pagoda (figure of Buddha)—not far from Victoria Park which is surrounded on three sides by the sea.

[2] He learnt Tamil and Telegu also.

[3] "In To-to-go-mo monastery, the Bhikkhus observed that for more than 450 years after the demise of Ramchandra Kabibharati, no learned Pandit had come from India. On one side of To-to-go-mo rolls the limitless ocean and on the other side rise the eternal hills, and in front is spread a charming lake; and here the monks resident therein honoured me with an address of welcome and asked me with simplicity whether I, Satischandra, a Bengali Brahmin, was a relation to Ramchandra, so green was the memory of the Kabibharati in their mind."—Dr. Vidyabhusan.

[4] Regarding Dr. Vidyabhusan's lectures, Sir P. Arunachalam (Member, Executive Council, Ceylon) remarked :—"The audience was grateful for being raised from the petty dust of their daily troubles to the high atmosphere to which the lecturer had taken them".

[5] E. G. on "Buddhist monks in Ceylon", etc.

[6] On his way back, he halted for a day or two at each of the following places, *viz.* Tuticorin, Setu-Bandha Rameswaram, Pamban, Madura, Trichinopoly, Chidambaram, Madras, etc. (*vide* his "Departure from Lanka," Bharati, 1910).

* "বিদ্যাসাগর, বিদ্যাভূষণ প্রভৃতি মহামনীষী এই মহাবিদ্যালয়ের উন্মুক্ত বক্ষোদেশে পুত্রস্নেহে লালিত

"None ever occupied this post at such an early age".[1] "The fair institution grew and flourished under his guidance."[2] The number of subjects taught was increased, able professors were taken in and the College magazine was started. As a result, the number of students reached the maximum during his time ; and advanced students of foreign Universities (such as Prof. R. Kimura of Japan and others) used to come to him for learning.

In like manner the tol also improved fully. "His services," said Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, "were invaluable in reorganising Sanskrit studies of the indigenous type ; and his work as Secretary of the Sanskrit Board and the Sanskrit Association founded by the Government will be gratefully remembered by the Pandits of the present generation all over the Presidency." "Under him, the Sanskrit Association got for itself the dignified position equivalent to that of a University of Oriental Studies, claiming its alumni almost all over India.[3] "The Board of Sanskrit Examinations," observed Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in the Sanskrit Convocation address (dated 28th January, 1913) "have had the inestimable advantage of the advice and guidance of Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan," who had introduced the Sanskrit Convocation.[4]

Dr. Vidyabhusan became the President of the All-India Sanskrit Conference held at Hardwar.[5]

XIII

At Benares, Dr. Vidyabhusan had held discussions with Pandit Bamacharan Nyayacharyya on Indian Logic (Ancient and Modern)—particularly on Logic of the most ancient times and on Tattva-Chintamani, Shabda-Shakti-Prakashika and Raghunath Siromani's Didhiti. To elucidate the points (hitherto involved in obscurity) on Ancient and Modern Schools of Indian Logic, he began collecting fresh materials

পালিত হয়েছেন এবং ইহারই বরণীয়তম পুত্ররূপে দিগ্‌দিগন্তে স্বীয় যশঃপ্রভা বিকিরণ করে গেছেন।"—ডক্টর যতীন্দ্রবিমল চৌধুরী (সংস্কৃত কলেজ ম্যাগাজিন—১৯৪৭—ডিসেম্বর)।

1 *Vide* Basumati.

2 *Vide* Calcutta Review.

3 'Statesman', dated 19th August, 1920.

4 *Vide* Dr. Vidyabhusan's 'Buddhist Convocations' (JMBS, 1901).

5 Some of his writings during this period :—

(1) Avadana-Kalpa lata (a collection of legendary stories about Bodhisattva)—author বৌদ্ধকবি Kshemendra of Kashmir. The Sanskrit text of this (translated into Tibetan in 1202 A.D. by Souton Lachava and Lakshmi Kārā), nowhere available in India, was discovered in Tibet written in Tibetan characters and accompanied by a beautiful Tibetan version. Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan and Rai Saratchandra Das, Bahadur spent a lifetime in the

from the Hindu source (at Tanjore, etc.). The result was his following productions which, together with his Medieval School of Indian Logic, serve to give us considerable insight into the relative positions of the different schools of Indian Logic :—

1. Ancient Indian Logic :—an outline (published in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume).
2. Nyayasutra of Gotama—translated by Dr. Vidyabhushan (Sacred Book of Hindu series, Allahabad, Vol. 8, 1913).
3. Vatsyayana, author of Nyaya-bhasya (Indian Antiquary, 1915, April, Vol. XLIV, Part DLV).
4. Tattva-Chintamani (summarised in English)—Journals and Proceedings of ASB, NS, Vol. XIV, pp. 279-331. Issued 18.6.18.

Dr. Vidyabhushan was not satisfied until he made a comparative study of all the systems of Logic.[1] This resulted in his following productions :—

accomplishment of the task of restoring Sanskrit, with its Tibetan version (first edited by Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan and Rai, Saratchandra Das Bahadur from a Xylograph of Lhasa and Sanskrit Mss. of Nepal)—Bibliotheca Indica Tibetan Series, 1910.

Bodhi-Sattvavadana Kalpa-lata (a Buddhist Sanskrit work on exploits and glories of Buddha) by Kshemendra, with Tibetan version—Edited by Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan and Rai Saratchandra Das Bahadur, published by A.S.B. (Bibliotheca Indica NS, No. 777 etc., 1918).

(2) An account of a letter (Maharaja-Kanika-lekha) addressed by Maticitra (Asvaghosa) to Kaniksha, in the Tangur (published by Dr. Vidyabhusan in J.A.S.B. No. 9, for 1910).

(3) Yasovijaya Gani, about 1608-1688 A.D. (Journals and Proceedings of A.S.B., No. 9, 1910).

(4) Buddha's tooth in Ceylon (Bharati, 1910).
(5) Nataraja Siva in Ceylon (Bharati, 1911).
(6) Satyabrata Samarani, 1846-1911 (J.P. 7, 1911, cxiii).
(7) On Sebabrata Sasipada.

(8) So-sor-thārpā (or code of moral and monastic discipline of the Buddhists of Tibet) [Edited and translated by Dr. Vidyabhusan; also JASB, NS, xi (1912)]. "Dr. Vidyabhusan gave a complete code of monastic laws of the Tibetan Buddhists which, I hope, will be some day contrasted with the rules which regulate the lives of the various sects of monks and ascetics in the country" (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee). Also see 'Tibetan version of Pati-mokka called Sosortharpa' edited with Tibetan text and an English translation by Dr. Vidyabhusan (JASB, Nos. 3 and 4, 1915). *Vide* Dr. Vidyabhusan's 'Prati-Moksha' (Bharati, 1903).

(9) Mila-ras-pa (Rnam-Thar of Rje-tsum) Ch. VII.—a Tibetan autobiography of a peripatetic saint of the 13th century. (Edited by Dr. Vidyabhusan, 1912).

(10) Mgvur-*h*-bum (a Tibetan didactic work). or a collection of sacred songs of Milaraspa. (Edited by Dr. Vidyabhusan, 1912).

(11) Rgya-cher-rol-pa.
(12) Jetsum Kahbrum.
(13) Situi Sumtag.

(14) Kiranavali by Udayacharya, with commentary of Vardharmānopadhyaya. (Edited by Dr. Vidyabhusan)—Bibliotheca Indica New Series No. 1342 (1912).

(15) Examination of 'fire and fuel' (JBTS of India).

(16) Srid-pa-ho : a Tibeto-Chinese tortoise chart of divination brought from Lhasa, originating in China (Memoirs of ASB, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 1-11) (1913).

[1] For studying Western Logic, his knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, German, etc., stood him in good stead. "He had learnt German from Mr. Macfarlane, Librarian, Imperial Library." (Banamali Vedantatirtha).

1. Origin of Indian Logic as influenced by Greece (JRAS, 1918, pp. 469ff.).
2. Influence of Aristotle on the development of syllogism in Indian Logic (JRAS, 1918).[1]

Thus the fullest knowledge of Logic was wedded to original thinking. This led to one of the most important events in the field of oriental scholarship *viz.*, "the truly monumental work of Dr. Vidyabhushan"[2] named 'A History of Indian Logic—Ancient, Medieval and Modern Schools.' A perusal of this work before it was printed made Sir Asutosh Mookerjee realise the true value of what Dr. Vidyabhushan had accomplished, and Sir Asutosh stated at the meeting of the Senate on 23.8.18:—"The new work is now in the press; every page of it—I assert this from a personal knowledge of its contents—is replete with new information and new views; and when it is placed before the learned world within the next few months, it will, I feel confident, redound to the credit of this University as a seat of higher study and investigation."

Dr. Vidyabhushan traced the history of the Indian Logic which may be summarised as follows:

Ancient Logic—Anvikshiki, then Nyaya; flourishing with Gotama and developed with Akshapada (Nyayasutra) "Dr. Vidyabhushan ascribes beginning of Nyayasutra to a Gotama (C. 500 B.C.), while the true Nyaya is ascribed to Akshapada (C.150 A.D.)"[3]

Medieval Logic—mentioned before.

Modern Logic—first work Tattva Chintamani by Gangesh Upadhyaya of Mithila—the study of this was introduced into Bengal by Vasudeb Sarbabhouma about the middle of the 15th Century A.D.—since the establishment of the University at Nabadwip in 1503 A.D., there was foundation of the famous school of Nyaya in Nadia; and Nyaya became the most favourite study in Bengal through the endeavours of Raghunath Siramoni and others—it was gradually introduced into Kashmir in the north, Andhra (Madras) in the south, and Nalanda in the Madhyadesa (Maharashtra); and in a couple of centuries it came to be cultivated all over India.

Every page of this work—one of the greatest of all times—is full of facts lucidly set forth showing perspicuity of style and of a

[1] Prof. Berriadale Keith once remarked that Logic, properly speaking, had not existed in India and that it had originated in Greece. Dr. Vidyabhushan clearly demonstrated that every topic in Western Logic (including syllogism) were to be found in Indian Logic. Thereafter Prof. Keith changed his views.

[2] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's Convocation Address, dated 24.3.23.

[3] Prof. Berriadale Keith (University of Edinburgh) in his "History of Sanskrit Literature."

vast mass of verified informations—well-disposed, carefully arranged, and expounded according to highly scientific method. The work is possessed "of the highest literary value. It abounds in those biblical virtues that characterise modern publications of the highest value." [1] "This work—one of the wonders of the world—stands unrivalled in its perfection of technique, exposition and wealth of data—historical, linguistic and philosophical. It is positive that whatever strides may scholarship make in its progress, the book as a whole will not be eclipsed, based as it is upon first-hand study." [2] Says Pandit Asoke-nath Sastri: "আচার্য্য সতীশচন্দ্র ন্যায়দর্শনের যে সকল তত্ত্ব ও তথ্য সংগ্রহ করিয়া রাখিয়া গিয়াছেন, তাহার অতিরিক্ত কোন নূতন তথ্য এখনও পর্য্যন্ত আর কোন গবেষক অনুসন্ধানে লাভ করিতে পারেন নাই।"

This work displays synthetic mind, keen insight and critical acumen of the author. "The work," wrote Prof. Berriadale Keith after Dr. Vidyabhushan's death, "reflects the highest credit on its late author. It is invaluable to every serious student of Indian Logic. It must form an indispensable source of materials for workers in the field of Indian philosophy. The permanent value of the work which—as any one familiar with Indian Logic knows only too well—must have involved almost endless labour. The University of Calcutta must be congratulated on the fact that it has been found possible to produce the book."

XIV

In 1918, a few Siamese Brahmins and officials came to India to visit the sacred places of the Hindus. The Government of Bengal and the Consul-General for Siam requested Dr. Vidyabhushan to tender them proper advice and to render them necessary assistance in connection with the tour. Dr. Vidyabhushan gladly complied with their requests.

In 1919, he went as a delegate to the First Oriental Conference held at Poona under the presidency of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar; and Dr. Vidyabhushan was elected its Vice-President. He was, of course, the President of the Section of Pali and Buddhism.

In literary conferences he was eagerly sought for, on account of his versatile attainments. He was elected President of the All-Bengal Literary Conference held at Jessore in 1916, of the Sahitya Sammelan held at Calcutta and Bhagalpur, of the literary section of the All-

[1] Quarterly Journal of the Mystic Society, Bangalore, January, 1924.

[2] Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., the Head of Sanskrit Department, Calcutta University.

Bengal Literary Conference held at Howrah, and of the District Literary Conferences held at Krishnagar and Chittagong.

"The performance of public duties was the ruling passion of his life. The number of societies with which he was prominently associated was, indeed, legion."[1] He was attached to various associations as their President, Vice-President, Secretary, or a member of the Executive Committee. To name only a few, he was the President of the Calcutta Literary Society, Sahitya Sebak Samiti, and of the Committee of S. S. Marwari Vidyalaya; the Chairman of the Managing Committee of Sanatandharma Vidyalaya; and the Vice-President of the Devalaya Association from the beginning till his death, and of the Mirzapur Phoenix Union Library. He was a member of the Executive Committee of Sahitya Sabha, Gita Sabha, Suhrid Sabha, etc., and was a patron of the Vivekananda Society. He was, no doubt, busy with these associations; to add to this, there were very few public meetings in the city or its suburbs or even outside, where he was not present either as the president, or as a speaker or as one of those who were 'expected to take part in the proceedings.' Judging from the work he had accomplished within this time, it must be admitted that he simply overworked himself, performing his duties ungrudgingly at the cost of comfort, convenience and health.

In 1919, during the Puja vacation, the first sign of his failing health was indicated at Puri[2] by a mild stroke of paralysis of the right hand. He returned to Calcutta and placed himself under the treatment of eminent physicians. He soon got round[3] and resumed his labour of love, *viz.* reading and writing. His friends, however, implored him to spare himself; but he was deaf to their entreaties; for he used to say that it was better to die than to remain invalid and idle. Early in 1920, another attack followed which caused anxiety to all his well-wishers. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and many others used to come very often and sit on his sick-bed. On the 25th April, 1920, (১২ই বৈশাখ, ১৩২৭) at about 8-30 p.m., this great savant —"one of the greatest sons of Bengal"[4] passed away at the prime of his life[5]—a martyr at the altar of the Goddess of Learning.

The sad news of his death spread like wild fire; and people, bare-footed, followed his body. The bier was placed for some time

[1] 'Bengali' 27.4.20.

[2] He had gone to Puri to preside over a conference.

[3] He resumed his daily bath in the Ganges taken early in the morning.

[4] At the age of 49 years 8 months 25 days only.

[5] From a message sent by Mr. P. N Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, to a meeting on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of Dr. Vidyabhushan's death.

in front of the Sanskrit College which was so dear to his heart. The Vivekananda Society offered a wreath of flowers to the illustrious deceased. On that very night a meeting was held at Dharmankur Vihar Hall; the assembled persons taking 'pancha-sheela' gave their earned virtue for the benefit of the soul of "a Sire who," says Dr. B. M. Barua (in his book called 'Asoka and his incriptions'), "was then the centre of attraction to the whole Buddhist world".[1]

Dr. Vidyabhusan being, for the best part of a quarter of a century(and that the most momentous in the history of the educational progress of the country), intimately connected with all the educational activities of the time, schools and colleges were closed as a mark of respect to his memory. Sir Nilratan Sircar, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University,[2] moved a condolence resolution at a Senate meeting and closed the University. Said Sir Asutosh Mookerjee:—"But the most lamentable of all the losses that we have sustained has been the untimely and unexpected death of late MM. Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan, who was a tower of strength to our cause in various spheres of activities. The depth and versatility of his scholarship have not been equalled in this generation; and it was only after he had passed away that people realised fully the profound and all-pervading character of his learning in the field of Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan and a variety of analogous subjects. These departments have been impoverished by the death of Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan".[3]

Messages of condolence began to pour in from far and near.[4] Telegrams were received from Lord Ronaldshay (then Governor of Bengal; later Marquis of Zetland, the Secretary of State for India)[5] and Sir John Ghest Cumming[6] (who were then at Darjeeling), and also from Mr. Hornell, Sir Harcourt Butler and others. Condo-

1 *Vide*—Dr. Vidyabhusan's "A report on the revival of Buddhism," 1917.

2 He highly praised Dr. Vidyabhusan in his convocation address on 24th March, 1921.

3 Extracted from Minutes of Senate, dated 8th October, 1920.

4 From France, Suzanne Karpelis wrote to Dr. Vidyabhusan's sons:—"The family of science has suffered a great loss. Your father was such a great authority that not only for you and India but for all those who are interested in those studies one will feel this great loss."

5 He referred to "the most pleasant recollections he always carried of his contact with with Dr Vidyabhusan, a man for whom he had great admiration and respect, and whom he regarded as friend" In his book named 'Land of the Thunderbolt', Lord Ronalshay praised Dr. Vidyabhusan for his learning, quoting the opinions of Sadler Commission.

6 He described Dr. Vidyabhusan as one whom he was proud to have as one of his personal friends of long standing.

lence message to his family from the Calcutta Corporation was sent by Mr. Radha Churn Pal.[1]

There were condolence meetings all over the country. At Naabdwip, a meeting was held at Public Library Hall, presided over by the Chairman of the Nabadwip Municipality, which was attended by the Pandits and all sections of the people. The speeches of Pt. Kamakshya Nath Tarkabagish[2] and Pt. Sitaram Nyayacharyya moved every one to tears; and a resolution was passed for perpetuating his memory in a befitting manner. The portrait and works of Dr. Vidyabhusan are to be found in many a library at Nababwip. At Krishnagar the condolence meeting was presided over by the Magistrate of Nadia. Recently, on the occasion of the Krishnagar College centenary celebration, the authorities of the college intended to perpetuate his memory in various ways. The Allahabad University and many other learned bodies and associations signified a similar intention. The staff and the students of the Sanskrit College held a meeting to devise suitable means to perpetuate his memory. There were condolence meetings at Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Gauhati branch of the Sahitya Parishad and Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad. Oriental Training Academy passed a condolence resolution, all standing. At College Square, a condolence meeting was held by the Calcutta Literary Society, the office of which was closed for a day. 'Dr. Vidyabhusan Institute' has been started for an all-round national progress.[3]

XV

Dr. Vidyabhusan served the cause of education not only by his own immortal contributions but also by helping students in various

[1] "Truly we have lost a great man, who was a pride and glory to our country. He was an ornament to the Bengali race. The country has suffered an irreparable loss. The whole country is grief-stricken and condole with you."

[2] Dr. Vidyabhusan had written on 'MM. Kamakshaya N. Tarkabagish' (J.P. 7, 1911, cxxi).

[3] Some of his writings during this period :—

(*a*) শৌপিক সংহিতা মৈত্রুপনিষৎ।

(*b*) Maitri or Maitrayaniya Upanisad (Edited by E. B. Cowell), second edition revised by Dr. Vidyabhusan (Bibliotheca Indica Series, 1912-19). See Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature'.

As Dr. Vidyabhusan died suddenly, he left many unfinished or half-finished works which he was preparing. These were taken away by his pupils who undertook to finish them.

Dr. Vidyabhusan's collections, mainly of rare Tibetan manuscripts and books, were taken by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and are kept in the Calcutta University Library for the use of the scholars interested in them.

ways. He procured scholarships for some students for their studies abroad; and ever supported a large number of poor students in Calcutta and elsewhere, always keeping at his house not less than twenty-five students. Students from distant mofussils and colleges would find in him an ever-ready and willing advocate of their complaints and prayers to the University authorities. "It was a matter of common knowledge among his fellow-syndics and Senators that Dr. Vidyabhusan was a sort of standing counsel for those who had none other to plead their cause."[1]

As a man he was the exact parallel of the scholar. He was full of the milk of human kindness; and helped a good many orphans, helpless widows and disabled persons all over the country. He followed the commandment: 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right giveth'. His charity was mostly private; and a considerable portion of his salary went to the aid of the poor. His advice, his backing and his purse were at the disposal of those who needed them. It was a pretty common sight to see Dr. Vidyabhusan hurrying to or from the college or the University or any of the many meetings which he made time to attend and take part in—surrounded, pursued or waylaid by all sorts of people, asking for service, testimonials, recommendations, letters of introduction, etc. They would sometimes follow him up to, or even into, the class-room. While he would return after a hard day's work, they would dog his steps right up to his home which was always crowded with people seeking his good office in something or other. But at no time and under no circumstances would they receive anything but a patient hearing and a kind treatment from their victim. Never perturbed or ruffled by importunate and persistent claims on his generosity from so many quarters, he met all their demands with a sweet smile and acts of ready condescension. A man of extreme self-control that he was, it was impossible to make him lose his temper. On the otherhand, he delighted in conferring benefits on, and obliging, all whom he came across; and ever followed the line of the least resistance. He, therefore, had no enemy, and could justly be called 'ajāta-satru.'

Many-aided as his activities were, he constantly desired to place himself in the background. He was, therefore, aptly described by the late Mr. Nobin Ch. Bardoloi as "a noble example of the maxim 'learning begets modesty'." His scholarship was stupendous, and his fame

[1] From an article (in Presidency College Magazine) written by Prof. Narendra Nath Chakravarti.

would make any man giddy ; but he bore the weight of scholarship with ease. In spite of his exalted position, he lived a most unostentatious life, marked with innate humility and forbearance, his motto being 'plain living and high thinking'. Simple and innocent as a child, genial in nature, affable in manners, placid in temper, suave, cool, and calm, he was at the same time considerate, strong, liberal in his views[1] and full of patriotism and the determination of a fighter.

Comparable to Swami Vivekananda in physical appearance, he was possessed of the highest moral excellence, the like of which is hardly to be seen. To know him was to love him and to feel attracted towards his charming personality. In the hearts of men he will remain enthroned as a প্রাতঃস্মরণীয় মহাপুরুষ

XVI

The final estimate of Dr. Vidyabhusan's position in the world of scholarship, original thinking and researches seems to be summed up in the cryptic remark of Deva Mitta Dhammapala that "there is none to take his place". Indeed, as Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has pointed out, "the void created by his premature death has not yet been filled up".

From the eminent peak from which he surveyed the world of oriental learning, he took all knowledge about the different domains of this world for his province. He refused to remain cloistered within the narrow walls of one domain (*viz.* that of Sanskrit) and to tread complacently the old paths; but unassisted and unheralded, he entered domains (*viz.* those of Pali, Tibetan, etc.) into which none had ventured before. He did neither break away from the old domain with the negative irreverence of an iconoclast, nor enter the new domains with the unsympathetic attitude of an assailant. He traversed all the domains with an open mind.

Within the span of forty-nine years he put in the work, the volume of which might well dismay a giant. His short span of life was crowded with achievements which could guarantee the reputation of a dozen scholars, if divided among them. It is a wonder how he could manage to produce such an output of scholarship which required the knowledge of a variety of languages, besides English and Bengali. This scholarly equipment itself required strenuous labour sustained

[1] When Deshbandhu Das went to Dr. Vidyabhusan to seek advice regarding the marriage of his daughter according to strict Hindu rites, Dr. Vidyabhusan had the broadness of mind to support such inter-caste marriage"—Sudhakrishna Bagchi.

over decades; and he acquired it not at the sacrifice of social and administrative duties whose calls were numerous and diverse. Had he been spared a few years more, how great he might have been it is vain to conjecture. It is not difficult to imagine what it would have meant for his students who are plodding slowly in his footsteps, had he been spared by death. The cause of Indological Studies would certainly have grown from strength to strength[1].

"Versatile", says Dr. Adhar Ch. Das, "as Dr. Brajendra N. Seal in scholarship, Dr. Vidyabhusan surpassed Dr. Seal by his original contribution". He gave a new orientation to the world of oriental learning. With his constructive genius he blazed a great trail and opened up the heavens.

He was not only original—he was unique. His unique achievement lay in the supply of a new perspective which clarified and expanded the horizon of oriental learning. His researches in the domain of Sanskrit through the medium of sources derived from Pali, Tibetan etc. widened the store of knowledge.

When the history of oriental learning comes to be written, his achievement (in extending the knowledge of one domain of such learning through that of others) will appear something like the dawn of a new Renaissance. By such achievement, he has opened a new channel of oriental learning. On account of his signal achievements, Dr. Vidyabhusan stands to-day like a towering mountain, the height of which has not been reached by any one else in the Indological world.

Concluded.

[1] "But Providence ruled otherwise by snatching away Sir Asutosh and Dr. Vidyabhusan from their fields of activities at a time when Bengal had the greatest need of them. Academic Bengal can only cry out in imitation of Wordsworth 'You should be living at this hour; Bengal hath need of you both.' "—Dr. Satkari Mookerjee (in 'Nationalist').

THE NEW OUTLOOK IN RECENT ENGLISH POETRY

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New poetry in England has definitely changed. Old Victorian tradition in literature has snapped asunder. New ideas and ideals inspire the poets of the 'twenties and the 'thirties of the twentieth century. The Victorian idea of the Permanence of Institutions is displaced by the sense of a universal lack of fixity. There is little or no support for Tennyson's ideal of English institutions and Freedom which

> " Slowly broadens down
> From precedent to precedent'."

At the turn of the present century H. G. Wells speaks of 'the flow of things' in *The World of William Clissold*. Bernard Shaw refers to the reeling and crumbling of the rock eternal in *Major Barbara*. Even in the 'thirties Cecil Day Lewis voices a similar 'dark sense of destination' :

> " Travellers, we're fabric of the road we go ;
> We settle, but like feathers on Time's flow."

Forces of history have compelled a new outlook in the rising generation. The sense of security in old institutions cracks under the dead pressure of facts. The Boer War of 1899-1901 is a long chain of reverses for the British. The imperial might of England receives a rude shaking. England's primacy over the Seven Seas celebrated in Kipling's *Recessional* is seriously challenged. The theory of the whiteman's burden passes into a myth of by-gone days. A bitterness of feeling,—a sense of frustration subtly interfuses literature. This vague sense of disillusions gains sharpness and intensity in post-war literature.

The European crisis of 1914 is really, a crisis in human civilization and culture. André Maurois describes it as "a cataclysm of still immeasurable consequences. which produced, as it were, a deep geological fault in the ideas of mankind." Another contemporary English critic speaks on the disastrous consequences of war ;

" There have been other ages of crisis and dissolution, of intermittent cultural anarchy. But in the period between the two world wars men are more critically aware of a shifting of foundations, more conscious of holding the absolute and eternal in suspense."

The poetry of the 'twenties is, therefore, very much pervaded by a sense of fatuity, unfathomable despair, of groping blindness in a world where the "way of life is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf." *The west land* of T. S. Eliot adequately expresses this mood of futility and despair:

" What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of Man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water . . . . . "

W. B. Yeats is also moved to a profound sense of tragedy in life and arts:

" Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed and every where
The ceremony of innocence is drowned."

This mood of futility diffuses through the poetry of the 'twenties and to a large extent spills over into the writings of the 'thirties. An acute awareness of doom and catastrophe impending over everybody is found in W. H. Auden:

" Doom is dark and deeper than any sea-dingle
Upon what man it fall
* * * * *
" No cloud soft-hand can hold him, restraint by woman,
But ever that man goes . . . . . "

Stephen Spender becomes painfully conscious of the dark forces of history:

" This century chokes me under roots of night
I suffer like history in Dark Ages, where
Truth lies in dungeons, from which drifts no whisper."

Even the imagination of Cecil Day Lewis is for the time being overmastered by the blind hour' :

"Gloomed and clemmed as if by an imminent ice-age
Lies the drear world
Of your street-strolling, field-faring . . . . .
. . . . . Drear, extinct is the world,
And has no voice for consolation or presage."

But the most noticeable feature in recent poetry is the change in tone and temper between 'twenties and 'thirties. The poets of the 'thirties refuse to surrender weakly to the inevitable or to mere negation. They show no tendency to escape from the harsh realities of the day into 'A Palace of Art'. They do not like to slip away from "this strange disease of modern life" into thin, sweet meditative melancholy :

"Far, far from here
The Adriatic breaks in a warm bay."

The obligations of the present sit thick upon the new poets. It is impossible for them to be "an idle singer of an idle day,"—to

"Step
Out of the dream of wake
Into the dream of Sleep."

There is a conscious effort in these poets to face realities, to create a better world,—to resolve the injustices and contradictions in life. This realistic and human note,—this abiding faith in a renovated world—seems to be the most essential quality about this recent poetry. The isolation of the poets in their 'ivory tower' is condemned as philistinism. Stephen Spender thus expresses himself on this point :

"To ignore the deep motives of the history of your time, to despise contemporary humanity, to try to escape from the distasteful forms which life is assuming in the crowds all round you into your own 'individual integrity,' exercising itself a group of admiring friends, is a kind of philistinism about life which soon leads to philistinism in art."

In his *Revolution in Writing* Cecil Day Lewis insists that the

writer cannot be a hermit-crab. He must speak for his fellow-men and concern himself with the science of living together.

In her *Letter to a Young Poet*, written in 1931, Virginia Woolf appeals to the poet to come out of his own world "look out of the window and write about other people."

The poetry of the 'thirties provides overwhelming evidence of this new attitude towards life and arts. Thus, in a poem to Christopher Isherwood W. H. Auden writes:

"So in this hour of crisis and dismay,
What better than your strict and adult pen
Can warn us from the colours and the consolation,
The showy arid works, reveal
The squalid shadow of academy and garden,
Make action urgent and its nature clear?
Who give us nearer insight to resist
The Expanding fear, the savaging disaster?[5]"

Cecil Day Lewis clings to his faith in life in the gathering storm of the Second World War:

"Narrowing days have darkened the vistas that hurt my eyes,
But pinned to the heart of darkness a tattered fire-flag flies."

Through shadow and sheen Louis MacNeice declares unfalteringly for a better future:

"And though today is arid,
We know—and knowing bless—
That rooted in futurity
There is a plant of tenderness."

A new sense is born in these writers that they belong with the people and also they have a great responsibility towards the people. They believe that their predecessors of the 'twenties have shirked their responsibility. So some of these poets turn Leftists and demand immense revolutionary changes. Cecil Day Lewis gives out his mind in a beautiful poem:

" The red advance of life
Contracts pride, calls out the common blood
Beats song into a single blade,
Makes a depth charge of grief.
Move then with new desires,
For where we used to build and love
Is no man's land, and only ghosts can live
Between two fires."

John Cornford makes solid poetry of his Marxist faith in *Full Moon at Tierz* :

" The past, a glacier, gripped the mountain wall,
And time was inches, dark was all,
But here it scales the end of the range,
The dialectic's point of change,
Crashes in light and minutes to its fall,
Time present is a cataract whose force
Breaks down banks even at its source,
And history forming in our hands
Not plasticene but roaring sands,
Yet we must swing it to its final course. . . . ."

Gradually the social outlook of the poets " suffers a sea-change into something rich and strange." They come to realise that they must write for and to the masses. They are to create an image of life as it is, not for the fortunate and protected few, but for millions who have to struggle for their living and bear the crosses of life. They are inspired by the ideal of ' one world ' and begin to think internationally. In his most recent book, *All Aboard for Ararat*, H. G. Wells correctly defines this new attitude :

" As our eyes have opened, it becomes clearer and clearer that the individual life is doomed to frustration and death, unless it can escape into the synthesis of mankind. And this is true of every individual life. Give yourself and give yourself, with all your heart, or else perish, as all self-centred individuals must perish forever."

In *Epithalamion* W. H. Auden strikes this international attitude of mind :

"That this quiet Wedding of
A Borgese and a Mann
Planted human unity ;
Hostile kinds of the truth,
Fighting fragments of content,
Here were reconciled by love,
Modern policy begun
On this day."

Stephen Spender shows his wide interests in the fate and fortune of the common man :

"No spirit seek here rest. But this : No man
Shall hunger : Man shall spend equally,
Our goal which we compel : Man shall be man."

This changed outlook against the wider perspective of social consciousness,—this hold on the realities of life—is the fundamental feature of recent poetry.

THE COMMONWEALTH LINK

SARATHINATH SET, M.A.

The Dominion Premiers' Conference in London on April 23-28 last has stirred the political mind at home and abroad for obvious reasons. In the new agreement a republican India will continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the king as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth. The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognize India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of the declaration. Pandit Nehru, when pressed for further clarification on London Decision, stated in the Dominion Parliament that so far as Republican India was concerned she had nothing to do with any external authority or with any king and none of its citizens would owe any allegiance to the king or to any other external authority. It is in the context of the vital issue at stake that significance of the London Formula may be examined from the standpoint of a sovereign Democratic Republic that the draft constitution of India rightly maintains in line with the 'Objective Resolution.'

Fundamentally speaking, since the Balfour Declaration in 1926 the king of U.K. is king of each separate nation of the British Commonwealth as understood in common parlance. Moreover the Dominions are regarded as autonomous communities within the British Empire equal in status in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown. It may not be wide out of mark here to emphasise the status of the Sovereign Dominions as international persons, united by a common allegiance to the Crown. The late Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith says that the Dominions were created as organised Governments under the British Crown, and there is no provision in their constitutions which contemplates that they have the right to eliminate the Crown, or to sever their connection with it. The statute of Westminister, 1931 speaks of the Crown as the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of these nations being united

by a common allegiance to the Crown. The point at issue is further elaborated here that the power of a Dominion Parliament to repeal British Acts is a power to repeal them as law in the Dominion, not as British law relative to a Dominion. Hence all the Dominions, *e.g.*, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union of South Africa though represented by a Governor-General owing allegiance to the Crown have been in no way subordinate to one another in the national plane but the international status of the Dominions is limited with the constitutions that are in force since the evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Dr. Keith says, that in internal affairs the British Government has renounced any right to interfere with the legislation passed by Dominion Parliaments, which are now free to enact whatever they please subject to the provisions of their constitutions. The constitutions themselves may be altered at the discretion of their Parliaments in accordance with the procedure laid down ; for instance in the Commonwealth of Australia constitutional changes require acceptance at a referendum by the majority of the voters. In the Union of South Africa and New Zealand the constitution may be changed by Parliament at its discretion. In the case of Canada the constitution was made rigid by the British North America Act, 1867 creating the Dominion, because the statesmen of Canada who framed the constitution which was accepted by the British Parliament were desirous of preventing change therein. Alterations now must therefore still be made by the British Parliament, but it would act only on the request of the Parliament of Canada.

We may discuss some of the vital aspects accruing from the Commonwealth link among the member nations united by a common allegiance to the Crown. In international plane the position of the Dominions within the former League of Nations and the present U. N. O. Organisation may be helpful for better understanding the international status of the Dominions as such.

The Article 1 of the Covenant of L. O. N. specifically laid down :—Any fully self-governing state, Dominion or Colony may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided it shall give effective guarantee of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations. The late Dr. Keith admits that according to the wording of the Article, a Dominion or Colony is not identical with a state and that it is possible to maintain that the rights of a Dominion within the League

are not rights under international law in general, butare rights given by a distinct instrument by contract for certain definitive purposes. Be that as it may the Dominions enjoy the right to receive and to accredit diplomatic representatives. The extent to which this right is used varies. Australia and New Zealand do not exercise it, but their right to do so is unquestioned, and their policy may change at any time. The U. N. Charter improves much on this point. With the rise of the U. N. O., the international status of the Dominions like Canada, the Union of South Africa, Australia etc., has been fully recognised in the eye of the international law.

Dominion nationals, when overseas, can rely on the fact that they are also British nationals and claim assistance from British diplomatic agents and consuls on that score. At present it has been a sort of convention among the Dominions themselves that the treaty-making power may be exercised directly and without British mediation of any kind in all those countries in which Dominion diplomatic representation exists. But on the other hand, it has been argued that the power to declare war exists only on the authority of the Governments of the United Kingdom and all the Dominions acting together. According to Dr. Keith Britain as a state of international law in the fullest sense has an unquestioned right to declare war. As regards the Dominions there is no reason to suppose that Canada, Australia or New Zealand claim any such right, and it is the idea to assign to Dominion rights which they would probably repudiate if any attempt were made to insist on their recognition that they possessed them. During September, 1939, on the outbreak of the war Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand forthwith resolved to take part in the war against the Axis powers, there being no dissent. In the Union of South Africa the Premier proposed neutrality but this was decisively rejected by the Assembly. Similarly, it must be remembered that at common law, which is in matters affecting the sovereign authority the law of the Commonwealth where not restricted by legislation, the declaration of war by the king creates a relation of enmity between all persons in his dominions and all persons in enemy countries. It is clear then that the right of a Dominion to remain neutral in a British war does not exist and as such a declaration of neutrality would really mean a determination to secede from the Commonwealth and it would be determined by political, not legal, reasons.

Another crucial point remains to be explained in the context

of the sovereign rights of the Dominions in the international law. The Dominions enjoy now virtually unfettered freedom in selecting and removing the head of the executive, subject only to such moderating influence as might be exercised by the king, by whom appointment and removal must formally be approved. In neither case need the Imperial Government be consulted nor need it be accorded any right to intervene.

The Commonwealth link symbolised by the Crown is specifically invoked in judicial matters but it again gradually declines. It is a fact that the right to appeal from the final decision of the Dominion Courts to the Privy Council rests on a traditional prerogative or right of the Crown which has been in operation since the earliest days of colonial government. It rests, however, with each Dominion to decide whether to maintain the appeal or not. In the case of Canada in 1933 all appeals in criminal cases were forbidden, in the case of the Commonwealth of Australia, the constitution of 1900 forbids appeal in constitutional case involving the rights of the Commonwealth and the States among themselves, unless the High Court certifies that the matter should be decided by the king in Council and the High Court does not now so certify. The fundamental point is to be noted that appeal is retained only in so far as the Dominions so desire. Thus in civil cases in Canada it is retained inasmuch as the Canadian provinces so desire.

Thus we find that the Crown remains the essential link of connection, the people in the Dominions and the United Kingdom being united by the fact of the common allegiance they owe to the Crown, by virtue of which they are all British subjects. Recently however, Canada, the Union of South Africa, (Eire now outside the Commonwealth group) have defined those persons who are nationals of the Dominions and in the Union and Eire political rights are restricted to nationals. But the fact still remains that all Dominion nationals are British subjects and are given protection by the British Governments as such. The obvious position of the Crown as the link of the Commonwealth is sometimes not very clear in certain aspects of the constitutional crisis if the Dominions ever face, if any, at any time. Prof. Laski is very much cautious on this point. It is true that in the United Kingdom by his hereditary tradition of authority and by long experience, the king has a measure of power which is wholly different from that enjoyed by any Governor-General in the Dominions and he is able to exercise a deep influence on the course of government

in cases where no political party in Parliament has a clear control and where crisis of a national character emerge. He further observes that the Dominions united by a common allegiance to the Crown are not fully sovereign in the eye of international law inasmuch as the measure of power enjoyed by the king is wholly different from that enjoyed by any Governor-General in the Dominions. In between that limitations it is difficult to apply the notion of "sovereignty" in the case of such a body as the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We must admit that the declaration of the Dominion Premiers' Conference is something novel and new in the constitutional developments of the Commonwealth of Nations. It is to be noted that the word 'Dominion' does not occur anywhere in the document. This is a further indication of the way in which terminology is being gradually adapted to meet changing circumstances. The first paragraph of the declaration refers to the "British Commonwealth of Nations and the succeeding paragaraph omit the word 'British'. This suggests a further adaptation of the Commonwealth concept to permit assimilation of the new Asian states of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. "The declaration" in the words of The London times, "is obviously framed to meet the special circumstances of India, but it seems inevitable that it may be drawn into precedent in future by other members states of the Commonwealth if any of them feels so inclined. The position of India's neighbouring state of Pakistan is of special interest. * * * It is assumed that if Pakistan chose to write into her constitution a republican form of Government comparable to that of India, she would be free to do so". (The Times, London, April, 29, 1949).

With the rise of the United Nations Organisation in the post-war era, the Dominions big or small alike continue to play very decisive role in the international plane by virtue of their international status. For instance, Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa are recognised as a full state in the accepted sense of the terms. They are to-day as free as the United Kingdom in shaping their policy at home and abroad to the best interests of their nationals in the larger context of the world situation. It is a fact that the world is to-day faced with an entirely new alignment of world power with rival camps perhaps in command of colossal unprecedented war potential. Fortunately or unfortunately Canada though united by a common allegiance to the Crown has been in a position to assume greater responsibilities as a North American Nation, while Australia and new

Zealand remain greatly concerned about security in the South-Western Pacific. At present with the birth of the U.N.O. and its specialised agencies the formation of international society and world federation has been very much uppermost in the minds of the statesmen the world over. It is in the context of the realities ahead that the nations big or small have been in earnest to shape their destiny as far as practicable in their own way. It would be too early, however, to have precise conception of the international relations which in fact the Dominions and the states within the Commonwealth of Nations are going to maintain in the eye of international law that defines area of duties and legal rights in relation to the states big or small alike. But the fact must be faced that the battle about such words as statehood, sovereignty and independence is something to be reconciled with the changing signs of the hour despite it would be difficult to reconcile to such a realization.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN INDIAN LABOUR LAW

MANJU BHUSAN DUTTA, M.A.

Industrial unrest, precipitated almost to a crisis in recent years, has once again brought into uneasy prominency the question of State intervention in the regulation of industrial relations. Historically speaking, attempts at settling labour disputes have proceeded in three stages.[1] In the first stage both parties were unorganised, and irregular negotiations coupled with the exercise of such force as each party possessed, were the only efforts made to arrive at a settlement. The second stage was characterised by the use of conciliation and arbitration, while the last witnessed the compulsory prevention of strikes and lock-outs. According to some authorities the three foregoing stages "represent similar stages in social psychology."[2] Irregular negotiations symbolise the primitive notion that might is right and that the stronger must get the better of the weaker. The second stage proceeds on the assumption that the parties have common interests which call for a peaceful settlement of all differences. The third stage represents notions of a homogeneous community in which individual and sectional interests must be subordinated to the interest of the community.

The evolution of labour legislation in India leaves the unmistakable impression that the State in this country has only recently grown out of its primitive notions of the usefulness of non-intervention. In fact up till 1928 industrial disputes in India were left severely alone, with the result that the policy of the State coincided with the interests of the industrialists. The Indian Trade Disputes Act, 1929, for the first time recognised, though in a vague way, that a country in which the working class was neither sufficiently organised nor properly stabilised, could not afford the luxury of strikes or lock-outs which only served to embitter the already strained relation between Labour and Capital. The Act therefore, made provision for the settlement of industrial disputes by peaceful methods. When a trade dispute existed or was apprehended, it authorised the appropriate Government to refer any matter connected with the dispute to a Court of Inquiry

1 Pamphlet entitled "Conciliation and Arbitration" published by the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay.

2 *Ibid.*

or to refer the dispute to a Board of Conciliation. The parties themselves could also take the initiative, and the appropriate authority was asked to accommodate them under certain circumstances. The Act also prohibited strikes and lock-outs in public utility services without 14 days' notice and also declared illegal strikes and lock-outs having any object other than the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry concerned and calculated to cause widespread suffering. In so far as the Act introduced the principle of conciliation, it assuredly broke new ground. In practice, however, it failed to create an atmosphere of sanity and good will in the midst of strifes. Despite the very limited scope of the Act the authorities were unable to provide necessary facilities quickly enough. Conciliation thus was not even given a fair trial. It is a revelation that during the long period of seven years between 1929-36 "the machinery provided by the Trade Dispute Act was brought into use only on five occasions in the whole country," while until 1938, no advantage was taken of its provision for the settlement of industrial disputes in Bihar.[1] Looking back it now appears that the authors of the Act erred gravely in providing an *ad hoc* machinery for conciliation. It was usually found impracticable to set up a Board until a dispute had been in progress for sometime. Conciliators were thus called upon to mediate when the mischief had already taken place.

The Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act, 1934, took care to avoid some of the defects of the Act of 1929. Thus the Act provided for a regular conciliation staff consisting of Special Conciliators and Assitant Conciliators with the Labour Commissioner as the *ex-officio* Chief Conciliator. A Labour Officer was also appointed to watch the interests of workmen. The Conciliators were empowered to institute conciliation proceedings either on application by the parties or on their own initiative. They were in addition given wide powers of (*a*) enforcing the attendance of any person, (*b*) compelling the production of documents and material objects, and (*c*) examining witnesses.

The Bombay Act of 1934, although an improvement on the earlier Central Act, did not go far enough. The operation of the Act was restricted to the city of Bombay where, however, a large number of disputes were successfully handled by the Conciliators. Nevertheless the authors of the measure may fairly be accused of lack of courage. They hesitated to introduce the principle of arbitration. They attempted very little and their achievements were in consequence rigidly limited.

[1] Mukherjee—The Indian Working Class, p. 325.

Neither the Centre nor the provinces were prepared to go further or even to act on similar lines, and the minor Central amendment of 1938 was disappointing. In the same year, however, Bombay came forward with a far-reaching measure: The Industrial Disputes Act, 1938. This Act had indeed several features commendable as well as controversial, and it created a mild stir in industrial circles. The act introduced the principle of compulsory conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes except where the parties had by mutual agreement, decided to refer the dispute to arbitration. Strikes and lock-outs before the commencement or during the continuance of conciliation proceedings were prohibited. An Industrial Arbitration Court was set up to interpret the Act as also to act as arbiter where both parties were willing. An elaborate Conciliation machinery was provided for and the conciliation procedure was also laid down.

In order to ensure proper representation for labour in the conciliation and arbitation proceedings, the Act classified trade unions on novel lines. In the first place, an industry or occupation was allowed to have only one registered union at a time, a union with larger membership having a stronger claim to registration than one with a smaller membership. Secondly, a recognised union with a membership of at least 5% of the workers engaged in the industry or occupation concerned was entitled to registration. Further a union—recognised or unrecognised—having a membership of not less than 25% of the workers was also entitled to registration, and, on registration, was to be known as a representative union. The Act also contemplated another type of unions—the qualified ones. These were unrecognised unions having a membership of at least 5% of the workers. The function of representing workers and negotiating on their behalf could be performed by the first two types of unions—the representative unions of course being given the first right. Qualified unions could not participate in negotiotions between the parties but were entitled to assist the representative of employees in all proceedings under the Act where they had more than 50% of the employees concerned as their members. In the absence of any of these unions, elected representatives of the employees, or, in the last resort, the Labour Officer, were to act on behalf of the workers.

The Bombay Act of 1938 marks an important stage in the evolution of concilliation and arbitration in the settlement of labour disputes in India. A far cry from the Central Act of 1929, it was much more ambitious than the earlier Bombay Act which it replaced. The law of conciliation was wisely tightened up but arbitration was

introduced with a caution bordering on suspense. In two respects, however, the Act was manifestly ill-conceived. It dealt a staggering blow to the Trade Union Movement in the province by drawing an invidious distinction between one union and another in the matter of workers' representation. The insistence, in particular, on recognition by employers was amazing. It is difficult to understand why with the example of the National Labour Relations Act (U. S. A.) before them, the authors of the Bombay Act did not steer clear of representation controversies by resort to the simple majority rule. They also erred in placing individual and collective disputes on the same footing for the simple reason that protracted and complicated conciliation proceedings are not suitable for individuals to whom speed is a vital factor.[1]

During the War period the Bombay Act underwent certain amendments of which Sec 49-A (1941) is of considerable interest. It empowered the appropriate Provincial Government to refer any dispute to the Industrial Court for arbitration if

"(1) a serious outbreak of disorder or a dislocation of the peace is likely to occur; or (2) serious or prolonged hardship to a large section of the community is likely to be caused by reason of the continuance of the industrial dispute; or (3) the industry concerned is likely to be seriously affected and the prospect and the scope for employment curtailed as a result of the continuance of the industrial dispute."

In 1942 Rule 81-A of the Defence of India Act conferred similar powers on the Central Government, and by delegation, on the provincial Governments. The Rule empowered the Government to refer any dispute to conciliation or arbitration if it was found necessary to do so for any of the following purposes: (1) the defence of British India; (2) the maintenance of public order, public safety or of essential supplies; (3) the efficient prosecution of the war. The Government also assumed the power of prohibiting strikes and lock-outs and of enforcing the award of an adjudicator.

It is evident that these wartime provisions did not, properly speaking, belong to the labour code of the country, for they were, in truth, part of the elaborate security measures adopted throughout the country for the smooth prosecution of the war. The fact that it was not obligatory for the Government to inquire into the grievances of the workers before an actual or threatened strike lends support

[1] Gadgil--Regulation of Wages, Lecture V.

to this view. On many occasions employers effected unauthorised changes in the conditions of work, with impunity ; and strikes without notice took place in many industrial centres. Evidently, despite the assumption of sweeping powers, the Government considered it unnecessary either to prevent or to cure so long as the malady did not threaten the war effort.

The credit for the first attempt to deal comprehensively with the growing industrial unrest in the post-war period belongs to the Government of Bombay, but the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946, which was the legislative expression of that attempt introduced no new principle. It was virtually a case of old wine in a new bottle, the " wine " having so long been " kept " in the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, 1938 as later amended and Rule 81-A of the Defence of India Act. Thus the new Act retains (*a*) the principle of compulsory conciliation and arbitration, (*b*) the Industrial Court, and (*c*) the old conciliation machinery. The Government is given the power to refer on the basis of the Labour Officer's report or otherwise, dispute between employers and employees to the arbitration of the Industrial Court or the newly established Labour Courts. The Act also empowered the Government to refer for arbitration to the Industrial Court disputes between employers and employees if it is satisfied that the continuance of the dispute is likely to lead to serious disorder, breach of peace or widespread hardship or serious harm to the industry concerned. Arbitration may be made compulsory also where the dispute cannot be settled otherwise or where public interest calls for such arbitration. Strikes and lock-outs are prohibited before the commencement or during the continuance of conciliation or arbitration proceedings and also when they go against an arbitration award. In addition strikes and lock-outs, resorted to two months or more after the termination of conciliation proceedings, are declared illegal. Petty work, such as interpretation of standing orders, the determination of the legality of strikes and lock-outs, etc., is transferred from the Industrial Court to the Labour Court. Provision is also made for the setting up of Courts of Inquiry for studying labour conditions, the relations between the employers and workers in any industry, and similar matters. For the purpose of ironing out minor differences by mutual discussion the Act further contains provision for the establishment of Joint Committees with the consent of the employer and the registered union of the industry for the area concerned. As regards workers' representation the Act lays down that a registration certificate is to be given to a union enjoying a member-

ship of at least 15% of the workers of the industry or occupation concerned, and failing that, to one with a membership of at least 5%. The former is to be called a Representative Union and the latter, a qualified one. In the absence of both, 15% or more of the workers in any undertaking are entitled to be registered as a Primary Union. Of two competing unions, the one with the larger membership is entitled to registration. Unions satisfying certain conditions are called "approved" and they enjoy certain privileges.

Considering that the Act is not an emergency measure, the powers conferred by it are nearly breath-taking. Greater emphasis appears to have been laid on compulsion that on free will. Armed with sweeping powers typical of a period of violent discontent, authority can now refer any industrial dispute to arbitration. It is indeed no exaggeration to say that "the right to strike or to declare a lock-out can be exercised only on the sufferance of Government." [1] Certain features of the Act, *e.g.*, speedier conciliation proceedings, the establishment of Labour Courts and Joint Committees, etc., have been received well, but the new classification of trade unions has been rightly criticised. It is no doubt an improvement on the earlier classification especially in respect of the question of recognition. The insistence on "one occupation one union," however appears somewhat baffling. The success of conciliation or arbitration proceedings depends on the co-operation received from each party, and, hence, the exclusion of large bodies of workers from all share in conciliation or arbitration proceedings may rob settlements or awards of much of their value. Further, the disguised attempt to foster the growth of a paticular type of union through the creation of "approved" unions is a retrograde step. To deprive Trade Unionism of its spontaneity and to attempt by statute what might have been accomplished through propaganda is unwise.

In 1947, the Government of India, probably inspired by the enterprise of Bombay, passed the Industrial Disptues Act embodying the essential features of Rule 81-A, Defence of India Act and retaining the provisions of the Trade Disputes Act, 1929. This is the latest important measure in India which forms part of the law of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. According to Sec. 10 of the Act, if any industrial dispute exists or is apprehended the Appropriate Government may (*a*) refer the dispute to a Board for promoting a settlement thereof; or (*b*) refer any matter appearing to be connected

[1] N. S. Pardasoni—"Bombay Industrial Relations Bill" in the Eastern Economist, Vol. 8.

with or relevant to the dispute to a Court for inquiry ; or (*c*) refer the dispute to a tribunal for adjudication. The Appropriate Government shall take similar action on application by the parties to the dispute if it is satisfied that the petitioners represent the majority of each party. Conciliation is compulsory in all disputes in public utility service and in other cases it is compulsory at the discretion of the Government. The Government also possesses under Sec. 10 the discretionary power to refer any dispute to arbitration regardless of the sentiments of the parties concerned. Time limits have been prescribed to expedite conciliation proeeedings according as the proceedings are conducted by Conciliation Officers or by a Conciliation Board. A settlement arrived at in course of conciliation proceedings is binding for such period as may be agreed upon by the parties, and in the absence of any such agreement, for a period of six months, and will continue to remain in force until revoked by proper notice by either party. Where a Conciliation Officer has failed to bring about a settlement he is required to submit to the Appropriate Government a report stating *inter alia* the reasons for which, in his opinion, no settlement could be reached. On considering the report the Government may make a reference to a Board or a Tribunal. If no settlement is reached under the auspices of the Board, the Board submits a report to the Government which may refer the dispute to a Tribunal. The award of a Tribunal shall be declared binding by the Appropriate Government for any period not exceeding one year. Where the Government is a party to the dispute and the implementation of the award would, in its opinion, go against public interests, the award shall be laid before the Legislative Assembly (Central or Provincial, as the case may be). Strikes and lock-outs in public utility concerns, without proper notice, are illegal. The Act also prohibits strikes and lock-outs (1) during the pendency of conciliation proceedings before a Board and seven days after the conclusion of such proceedings ; (2) during the proceedings before a Tribunal and two months after the conclusion of such proceedings ; and (3) during any period in which a settlement or award is in force in respect of matters covered by the settlement or award. If a strike or lock-out is already in existence when reference to arbitration or conciliation is made, the Appropriate Government may prohibit its continuance. In the original Bill sympathetic strikes were permitted but, in the final Act these were, following criticisms in the Assembly, declared illegal on the lines of the British Act of 1927. It is obvious that until Trade Union leaders in India become more conscious of their social responsibilities and

less radical in their general outlook, any relaxation of the existing law is not likely.

The new Central Act is thus similar to the earlier Bombay Act, but the greater flexibility of the former makes it a more powerful instrument for good or evil. In view of the wide powers assumed by the Government, there is ample scope for misuse of the newly-created conciliation and arbitration machinery. On the other hand, with an extra dose of broad commonsense and sympathetic imagination, it can be employed to yield positively good results.

The evolution of conciliation and arbitration in Indian Labour Law has been traced at some length. It may be noted in passing that, besides Bombay, some other provinces like U.P. and C.P. have also recently set up independent machinery for the settlement of disputes. A review of the principles on which the existing Indian law is based is now called for. As in the case of every disease, there are two ways of tackling the problems of industrial peace. One is concerned with prevention and the other with cure. Obviously neither conciliation nor arbitration can eliminate the causes of dispute, but they are expected to prevent disputes, once they have arisen, from degenerating into strikes. The Conciliator acts "purely as a go-between seeking to ascertain in confidence the most that one Party will give and the least that the other party will take without entering on either a lock-out or a strike." In arbitration, on the other hand, disputes are determined by an outside authority without reference to the wishes of either party, the award representing, in the opinion of the arbitrator, the most reasonable solution of the dispute. Conciliation and arbitration procedure thus provides "a sort of flying ambulance squad which appears whenever a collision occurs between the interests of workers and employers which threaten to disturb their harmonious productive activity. In doing so it covers each danger spot where a clash of interests might occur, with a net-work of legal relations." [1]

Indian law started with voluntary conciliation, added arbitration later on and has now introduced an element of compulsion into both. In so far as the adoption of peaceful methods of settling industrial disputes is concerned, authority in India has only acted on lines indicated by the industrially advanced countries of the world, *e.g.*, U.S.A. and Britain. Conciliation and arbitration have rightly been regarded as complementary rather than competitive. It is, however,

[1] I. L. O.—Conciliation and Arbitration in Industrial Disputes, p. 8.

the principle of compulsion that has come in for the largest measure of criticism. The usual objections are that where good-will is expected to play the leading role, the application of force can only serve to embitter feelings; that the suspension of the right to strike may lead to great injustice towards labour "which may by the tardiness of the proceedings be deprived of what would have been at a certain moment, favourable chances of success":[1] and that awards are likely to against labour owing to the inevitable class-bias of the judge. Some critics[2] have gone to the length of associating compulsory arbitration with Fascism. It is quite true that ordinarily compulsion is not resorted to in conciliation or arbitration. In the U.S.A. the Taft-Hartley Act has created an independent Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service to which the functions and personnel of the old Conciliation Service of the Department of Labour have been transferred. It is the duty of this agency to assist parties to labour disputes through conciliation and mediation. If the Service does not succeed in bringing the parties together by conciliation it endeavour to induce them to use, *voluntarily*, other means of settlement. There also exist in the U. S. A. arrangements for private voluntary arbitration in settling industrial disputes. Here arbitrators are appointed by the disputants themselves and their authority is limited by the mutual consent of the parties. In Britain also, "it has been the continuous policy of the Ministry (of Labour) for many years to encourage self-government in industry and no action.....is normally taken by the Minister or his officials unless any negotiating machinery suitable for dealing with the dispute has been fully utilised... Even when there is no agreed procedure it is desirable that the parties themselves should make endeavours to reach a settlement. The knowledge, however, that the services of the ministry are available results in requests for advice or assistance when difficulties occur."[3] Again, under the Conciliation Act of 1896 and the Industrial Court Act of 1919, provision is made for arbitration by consent of both parties, but there is no means of compelling an unwilling party to go to arbitration. There is, however, a family resemblance between the Indian and Australian systems. Thus under the Conciliation and Arbitration in Australia Commonwealth Act of 1947, Australia has maintained the principle of compulsory conciliation and arbitration.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 72. Also Assembly Debates on the Bill.

[2] Essay entitled "Labour Conciliation and Arbitration in India" in Indian Labour Problems, edited by Agarwala.

[3] Ministry of Labour and National Service (Great Britain)—Industrial Relations Handbook, 1944, p. 119.

Here an effort is made in the first instance to settle a dispute by conciliation. If no agreement is concluded, the court or the Conciliation Commissioner determines the dispute by an award or order which may be declared binding on the whole industry.

It appears from the above as also from a study of the law in other countries that the law of conciliation and arbitration in each country reflects the general legal and economic systems of that country.[1] Thus America's faith in *laissez faire* explains her distrust of compulsory conciliation while the nature of Australian Conciliation and Arbitration is attributable to the character of her wage-fixing machinery. So far as India is concerned, the sudden transformation from *laissez faire* to State intervention only points to the changing face of the country's economy. Positively also, something may be said in favour of the principle of compulsory conciliation and arbitration. Where the percentage of wholly unsuccessful strikes varies from 40% (1947) to 81% (1926) it is ridiculous to talk of the right to strike as of any great value except to employers. A strike is a useful weapon only to organised labour. In India except in selected areas the workers still remain badly organised. To retain, in the interests of a privileged few, an unrestricted right to strike, is to put a loaded gun in the hands of a child. Besides, in a country like India, where the problem is not merely one of inequitable distribution but of inadequate production as well, strikes, even if successful, are not likely to pay in the long run. As matters stand, there is not simply not enough to go round. To step up production and simultaneously guarantee labour a fair share of the National Dividend, increased State intervention on a planned basis is essential. To mistake enlightened intervention for unwarranted interference is to confuse liberty with license. It must, however, be added that compulsory arbitration is a desperate shift, and reliance must, as far as practicable, be placed on compulsory conciliation and voluntary arbitration. There is ample scope both in the Bombay Act and in the Central Act for the working of voluntary forces in harmonising industrial relations.

Nevertheless, the success of conciliation and arbitration in India is threatened by a number of formidable difficulties. The absence, on the workers' side, of well-knit organisations able alike to press for a settlement favourable to labour and to apply the agreements arrived at or the awards issued, is a serious handicap. On the other

[1] I. L. O.—Conciliation and Arbitration, p. 136.

hand, the operation of the law itself may infuse new spirit into the Trade Union movement. The exclusion, under the I. D. Act, 1947, of lawyers from conciliation proceedings is a far-sighted measure. Again, the lack of necessary information has often made the task of the conciliator or arbitrator a difficult one. The provision for the setting up of Courts of Inquiry on the British and Canadian model should go far in removing this difficulty as also in bringing the pressure of public opinion to bear on recalcitrant parties. Then again there are yet no agreed principles on which the awards of the numerous industrial tribunals throughout India are to be based. Time may of course crystallise the conflicting principles into a common code. For the present, however, irreconcilable rulings on such matter as the reinstatement of discharged workers seen undesirable. In this field the proposed Central Industrial Tribunal should be able to render good service. On the other hand, the genuine fear of some critics that the imposition of a rigid uniformity, in such matters as wage fixation, will, in view of the unequal industrial progress in the country, militate against inter-provincial equilibrium in trade and industry, cannot be dismissed perfunctorily. The greatest difficulty of Authority, however, will probably be the enforcement of awards and settlements. The Central Act does not contemplate any summary procedure for tackling the non-observance of settlements or the non-implementation of awards. In practice, therefore, awards remarkably unfavourable to either party, will probably be still-born. If any employer chooses to be unfair, it will be well nigh impossible for unorganised workers with slender resources either to mobilise public opinion in their favour or to afford the expense of protracted litigation. On the other hand, a popular Government may, as experience has shown, hesitate to take extreme measures when large bodies of determined and fanatical workers flout public opinion and defy the law. On the necessity for class-struggle opinions may vary, on the inevitability of class-conflicts they should not. In so far as the settlement of minor disputes between labour and management is concerned labour courts likely to be set up by the proposed Industrial Relations Bill will probably prove useful. Little, however, will have been achieved unless the industrial tribunals to which major questions will be referred are also charged with the responsibility of enforcing their decisions. It may be noted incidentally that much will depend on the sagacity of arbitration authorities. They must possess a strong commonsense, but a delicate conscience may prove to be a liability.

It is too early to say how far conciliation and arbitration as evolved in India will succeed in mitigating industrial unrest. The law cannot hold out hopes where labour disputes are inspired by political objectives of a revolutionary nature. Elsewhere a cautious optimism may not be unreasonable. Detailed figures about the working of the Bombay Act of 1946 or the Central Act of 1947 are not available. This much however is known that of the 145 applications received by the Bombay Labour Courts upto March 31, 1948, 61 were decided in favour of employers and only 19 in fovour of employees ; 42 resulted in mutual agreement, 2 were dismissed and in respect of 14 the courts had no jurisdiction. Considering that 122 of the applications were filed by employees, the conclusion seems irresistible that Bombay Labour Courts have often found workers' grievances unjustifiable. As regards the usefulness of conciliation it may be pointed out that of the 1710 cases of the Bombay Textile Industry actually handled by conciliators between 1942-1947 (under the Act of 1938), 49% ended in failures. It is interesting to note that during the same period the results of nearly 49% of the total number of stoppages in the province were wholly unfavourable to labour. Apparently, the figures do not call for an outright rejection of peaceful methods of settlement.

THE "MARGUERITE" OF TORU DUTT

RAJKUMAR MUKERJI, M.A., DIP. LIB.

Toru Dutt died in the evening of the 30th August, 1877. After her death the "Calcutta Review" published some of her poems, English translations from the original French of her favourite poet Comte de Gramont. The same Review paid a high homage to this young poetess and wrote the following lines regarding her knowledge of English.

"She could write English, with all its charm and with the good taste of an English woman. Many of her poems display a charming eloquence, melancholy to some extent, having a deep religious perception resplendent with a pure and high imagination which secured for her a respectable place with the English poets of the present age" [1]

Most of her poems are English translations from original French. The Editor in the "Calcutta Review" bore testimony to Toru's command over English. But the fact that she knew French equally well and could write in that language as freely as a French woman has remained almost unknown in India.

Toru was an Indian and she loved England, but she was more at home in France than anywhere else. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 she wrote in her diary "Je suis toujours un Français ou plutôt, devrais-je dire une inébranlable Française. Je ne serais pas inconstante, quoique les Français soient défaits" . . . . I am always a French, rather I should say an unflinching French woman. I shall never be inconstant even if the French people are defeated. And when she received the "Telegram" which said that the Germans would enter France she cried out in a poignant anxiety "Pauvre France! combien mon coeur saigne pour vous" Poor! Poor! France how much my heart bleeds for you!

She loved France and she loved her so much that she wanted to become one of France not only in her heart but also in her language.

She wrote a novel in French containing more than 260 pages. Two years after her death her "Journal de Mademoiselle d'Arvers" was published by one of the famous publishers of France. This fact has remained unknown in India perhaps for two reasons. On the

[1] Introduction by Clarisse Bader to "Journal de Mlle.d' Arvers",

one hand the book is written in French and on the other hand the book remained unnoticed because it was published after two years of the death of Toru.

"The Journal de Mademoiselle d'Arvers, though it is French in its inspiration and form, reminds us of those exotic flowers transplanted in our country. However acclimatised these flowers may become they retain the perfume of their native land" (Clarisse Bader). The Indiana is fully evident in this novel. While painting the love of a French girl to her lovers she consciously or unconsciously painted in full colour the love of a Hindu girl towards her husband.

Marguerite, the heroine of her novel, loved Dunois. But Dunois and his brother Gaston loved another girl. In the contest of love Dunois killed his brother Gaston. Marguerite witnessed all the horrors of the crime of fratricide, still her devotion towards Dunois was unshaken. She tried to save her lover from the grip of sure death, like the Hindu legendary women, like a faithful companion and also like a mother. She remained true to her lover in joy and in sorrow. The sweet and tender character of the heroine with the tinge of a premature motherliness reminds us of a Hindu girl.

In the beginning of the book the heroine Marguerite d'Arvers is presented to us as a young girl of 15, leaving the convent. She knows no pain. Life is charming to her. Then we see her in her affections to her parents, in her charitable deeds towards the poor of her village, in her rustic pleasures and in her romantic excursions in the woods with her friends—Dunois and Louis. We see her again suddenly enveloped from all sides by the dark forebodings of death. But she was a faithful Briton, a firm Catholic. She sought shelter under the shade of the Cross.

Toru's Marguerite is a flower of India, transplanted in the fields of France where nature is dominated by man. Marguerite has all the native characteristics of Toru. Marguerite's gracefulness, her deep faith in god, her devotion towards her parents and to her lovers remind us of the Toru of Bengal reared up in the atmosphere and milieu of Europe. The climate of Europe, her atmosphere, her nature, tried their best to transform the transplanted flower but its original trait remained.

Toru knew Sanskrit well and loved the Sanskrit poets. Her mother lulled her to sleep by narrating enchanting Indian legends and singing sweet classical verses, in her sweet, dreamy voice. It is clear from the character of Marguerite of Toru's novel that the legendary love of the trio: Sita, Savitry and Damayanti, had left in her an

indelible impression. She said in one of her letters to the eminent French Indologist, Clarisse Bader "y-a-t-il d'héroïne plus touchante, plus aimable que Sita? Je ne le pense pas. Quand j'entends ma mère chanter, le soir, les vieux chants de notre pays, je pleure presque toujours."—Is there a heroine more pathetic, more amiable than Sita? I know none. When I hear my mother singing in the evening the old legends of our country, I shed tears almost always.

Toru wrote the book towards the later part of the 19th century. During that period George Sand was the star in the literary sky of France. It is true that the socialistic ideas of Sand did not receive much recognition in that country during the lifetime of Sand, but her books were most avidly read in Russia. Sand's heroines are all motherly. Because of this characteristic of her heroines Sand herself was called "Sand the mother". She loved many and many loved her but every one of her lovers fell into deception because they did not receive from her the kind of love they expected. Her "Marie" of "La Mare au Diable", her "Fadette" of "La Petite Fadette" and most of all her heroines have a "motherliness" even in an age when such a characteristic is somewhat premature. Toru's Marguerite has also the same nature. Her attraction towards her lovers was more "Motherly" than "Womanly". This premature motherliness is a particular trait of Indian girls. If we follow closely the life of Toru we will see that she had also the same premature motherly feeling.

Towards the end of the novel the whole atmosphere is overshadowed with a melancholy fear of death. While speaking of Sister Veronique Marguerite says to herself "Pauvre soeur! Elle est si jeune! elle n'a que vingt ans. C'est bien tôt pour mourir! pour quitter ce beau monde où nous jouissons des bienfaits de notre Seigneur . . . Soeur Veronique etait heureuse de mourir! Je ne comprenais pas cela" Poor Sister! She is so young, she is only 26; it is too early to die, to leave this world where we enjoy the gifts of our Lord . . . Sister Veronique is glad to die! I cannot understand! She had certainly not the age, neither the experience to understand why one welcomes death in such a young age. She knew not the pains of deception in love, she knew not the chagrin of separation, she knew not the pangs of leaving behind the only beloved son. When Dunois was sentenced to an imprisonment for life, Marguerite experienced the deception in love. She fell back to Louis whose love she had refused. Her life becomes happy but the memory of Dunois remained in her heart as a chronic sore. After moral pain came the

physical. She suffered from a brain-fever. Fortunately she was cured but a slight evening fever persisted! She had the premonition of death. She gave birth to a child and was glad to imagine a happy future life. But she could not recover from her childbirth. She died.

The last portion of the novel is extremely pathetic. On the one hand her love for her new-born child, her love for her beloved husband and the prospect of a happy future life made her almost mad when the thought of leaving them behind arose in her mind. On the other hand her faith in God and her self-renunciation to the Cross gave her the courage to win over the pangs of death—a premature death. The book is written in "Natural French" and keeps up the interest of the reader from beginning to end.

Bengali literature is really unfortunate for not having a single work of Toru Dutt. She might have enriched our Bengali literature to a great extent. But alas death claimed her.

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS*

It was a privilege of India and her people to be served by Charles Freer Andrews for thirty-six long years. He gave up his fellowship at Cambridge and came over to Delhi in 1904. From that time onward he became a part of the texture of Indian life and served her interests as only a saint could serve. His was a hard unremitting toil which knew no rest until eternal rest claimed him on April 5, 1940.

Born in 1871 in an English evangelical family, he represented Christian idealism at its best. His father, John Edward Andrews was the priest of the "Catholic Apostolic Church" at Birmingham and, as his son wrote later, "spent himself during the whole of a long life-time in incessant spiritual labour." The income was small and the family large. Life had consequently to be frugal, more so as the money which Mrs. Andrews inherited was lost through the caprices of the friend who was entrusted with its investment. Towards the end of 1880 (when Charlie was in his tenth year), he entered King Edward VI High School which was an ancient and famous institution at Birmingham. A scholarship kept him going at the school when his mother's modest income could no longer supplement what his father earned. The atmosphere at home was emphatically spiritual and Charlie was deeply influenced by it. But this did not prevent him from entering fully into the life of the school where he not only read classics with high proficiency but played cricket, took an active part in debates and became the assistant editor of the school magazine. It is also important to remember that he took lessons in drawing and painting in the evening and at one time even thought of going in exclusively for training as an artist. At the end, however, he won a scholarship for classical tripos at Pembroke College, Cambridge, whither he proceeded in the autumn of 1890.

As at King Edward VI High School, so at Pembroke College, Cambridge, Andrews entered enthusiastically into all aspects of its activities. Every morning at 7-30 he was at the College Chapel service and every Sunday at Holy Communion. He read religious books and carried on conversations on religious subjects with kindred spirits. So there was a steady development of his spiritual personality.

* By Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes. Allen and Unwin, pp. 334. Price (cloth) 10*s*. 6*d*.

But at the same time he rowed and became popular among the College athletes. Nor was he remiss in his studies. It was remarkable that he could talk with knowledge on an extraordinary variety of subjects. "In the summer of 1893 Andrews took a first class in the classical Tripos but not, as he had hoped, in the first division. His absorption in a hundred and one other concerns had prevented him from obtaining the distinction which his ability might otherwise have won." So he went in for theological studies and in 1895 he took a first class with special distinction in the subject. "A fellowship was only a matter of time."

But he had already begun to take interest in other things. His father had the ambition that the son would serve the Church to which he was born. But Andrews developed at Cambridge doubts as to some doctrinal matters and pinned his faith to the Church of England. To that Church he would dedicate his life, but as events proved, only in his own way. Mere preaching was not enough for him. To live among the poor and the down-trodden, to bring comfort and cheer to their life and elevate their status was the ideal which suffused his life. Dr. Brooke Foss Westcott, Bishop of Durham and the father of the future Metropolitan of Calcutta, and Charles Hermann Prior (Bishop's son-in-law), the Senior Tutor of Pembroke, were great influences which shaped his outlook and ideal.

With such an ideal it was but inevitable that he would not fail to respond to any call for social service that might come from proper quarters. Such a call was not in fact long in coming. It came from the Pembroke College Mission in South London. For the time being he gave up academic ambition and on April 21st, 1896, he took charge of the mission and continued to work till 1899 in that capacity, being ordained priest in 1897. He had to leave this mission owing to a break-down in health which incessant work brought on. He returned to Cambridge and became Vice-Principal of the Clergy Training School and was also elected to a Fellowship at Pembroke College itself. This must have given him great satisfaction and to all outward appearance he was now settled in his vocation. But there was the call from India. His friend, Basil Westcott, the younger son of the Bishop, who had gone to Delhi as a member of the Cambridge Brotherhood, died in 1900 and there was an urge for him to take up the unfinished work of Basil. But immediately there was no decision. It was not till 1904 that his mind was made up and in February of that year he set sail for the country with whose interests he would identify himself for the rest of his life.

St. Stephen's College, Delhi, became the centre of his activities during the next one decade. He was a member of the Brotherhood which managed the college but it was not so much his Cambridge colleagues as the Indian Sushil Rudra who exercised the greatest influence upon the making of Andrews as he became in this country. It should be stated here that contrary to traditions of those times Sushil Rudra became the Principal of the college in 1907 mainly through the intercession of Andrews, and continued in that capacity for fifteen years. Until his death (1925) two years after retirement, he remained one of the closest friends of Andrews and helped him, as no one else could, in understanding India's problems and reaching India's heart. But gradually doubts as to some of the articles of faith of the Church which he was serving crept into his mind and ultimately he thought it right to give up his position. Meanwhile his other activities increased more and more and on the eve of the first world war he decided to break the trammels and become a servant of humanity at large.

From this time onward the life of Andrews becomes increasingly varied. He worked not in one country but in all the five continents. It is necessary to have a thorough grasp of the background of problems which he tried to tackle in his own way in these different countries. At Santiniketan he was the friend of the poet, the teacher of young boys and girls, and the pathfinder to the poor. In England, he was the ambassador of the leaders of the Indian national movement. In South Africa, in Fiji, in British Guiana and in British Columbia, he was the guide, philosopher and friend of the oppressed Indian settlers. He was again the adviser of Lord Hardinge, the helper of Gokhale and the friend and confidant of Gandhi.

The joint biographers have done their best to describe and analyse the activities of Andrews in the light of their background. But so difficult is the task that they cannot be blamed if they have not succeeded as well in the latter part of the book as they have in the earlier portion. In the latter part it seems that the man himself has been submerged in the heap of details. Possibly it would have been better if instead of bringing out this biography, the joint authors brought out a new edition of *What I Owe to Christ*. In several appendices the details which were left out there might have been incorporated. If again a full length biography was to be written at all, it might have been done on a new co-operative basis. It is not possible, as the authors have found it to their discomfiture, to place the activities of Andrews in a chronological order.

So it would possibly have been better if different men were called upon to write on different aspects of his career, *e.g.*, one on Andrews in St. Stephen's College, one on Andrews at Santiniketan, one on Andrews in South Africa. That way possibly the spirit of his life might have been better brought out.

There is one mistake in the foot-note on page 51. Before the partition of 1905 Bengal did not include Assam. In Chapter XII the authors, unconsciously perhaps, have done injustice to the politicians who did not discourage steamer strike in 1921. One at least of them was known to have spent all his own savings in maintaining at Chandpur the coolies from tea gardens. In bringing out into relief the humanity of Andrews it was not necessary to throw mud at others. Andrews at least would not have liked it.

To read the biography of a man like Charles Freer Andrews is to raise oneself to a higher sphere. The present writer has no doubt about it that in these days when idealism is so much at a discount, when spirit of service is fast ebbing out in this country, this book should give inspiration to many.

Naresh Chandra Roy

GREEK WORDS IN SANSKRIT

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1. NAMES OF THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC

Sanskrit has generally fought shy of foreign words, but no language in the world can wholly resist the influx of words and expressions of neighbouring races and Sanskrit is no exception to the general rule. No wonder, therefore, that several foreign words should have succeeded in gaining a foothold in the vocabulary of even this very conservative language and though they became more or less disguised, the fact of their incursion was known even to such an ancient writer as Jaimini who devotes the Ārya-Mleccha-Adhikaraṇa of his Mīmānsā Sūtra to the consideration of this topic. And foreign words, especially Greek words, are conspicuous in works on Astrology which would appear to have made greater progress in Egypt and Greece than in India in very early times. Garga mentions the pre-eminence of the Greeks in the domain of Astrology in the stanza :

म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम् ।
ऋषिवत् तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद् द्विजः ॥

'The Yavanas are indeed Mlecchas but this science has been well-established among them. (So) even they are honoured like Ṛṣis, not to speak of a Brāhmaṇa who is well-versed in Astrology.'

In this paper I shall deal with the names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac that have been borrowed from Greek.

Varāhamihira says in his Bṛhajjātaka (i. 8) :

क्रिय-तावुरि-जितुम-कुलीर-लेय-पार्थोन-जूक-कौर्प्याख्याः ।
तौक्षिक आकोकेरो हृद्रोगश्चेर्थसि क्रमशः ॥

Max Müller quotes this stanza in the following form from an ancient manuscript in his *India, what can it teach us?*—

क्रियताबुरिजितुमकुलीरलेयपार्थजुककौर्प्याख्याः ।
तौक्षिक आकोकेरो हृद्रोगश्चान्तयभं चेत्थम् ॥

It will be noticed that the first half here contains only 27 mātrās, whereas in an Āryā the first half should consist of 30 mātrās. So *pārthona* and *jūka* of the printed editions appear to preserve the correct

readings. Moreover, *tāvuri* spelt with the semi-vowel *v* in the printed edition is undoubtedly the original reading. *Hradroga* of Max Müller's MS. gives no meaning. Since the aim is to give us a common word with some meaning of its own, *hṛdroga* 'heart-disease' is most certainly the correct reading here. It is possible that *antyabhaś cetthas* is the original reading, for *itthas* makes a nearer approach to *ikhthus* than *irthasi*.

The stanza means that Kriya, Tāvuri, Jituma, Kulīra, Leya, Pārthona, Korpya, Taukṣika, Akokera, Hṛdroga, and Irthasi or Itthas are the synonyms respectively of Meṣa, Vṛṣa, Mithuna, Karkaṭa, Siṃha, Kanyā, Tulā, Vṛścika, Dhanus, Makara, Kumbha and Mīna.

Similarly we find in the Sarvārtha-Cintāmaṇi (i. 38-41):

मेषाजवस्तं प्रथमं क्रियश्च वृषोक्षगोतावुरि शुक्रभं च ।
बौधं नृयुग्मं जितुमं तृतीयं चान्द्रं कुलीरं तु चतुर्थराशिम् ॥
सिंहस्य कण्ठीरव-लेय-संज्ञा पाथोन(?) षष्ठी त्वबला च तन्वी ।
जूको वणिक् सप्तम-तौलि-संज्ञः कौर्प्योऽष्टमं कौजमलेस्तु संज्ञाः ॥
जैवं धनुस्तौक्षिक-चापसंज्ञं त्वाकेकरं स्याद्दशमं च चक्रम् ।
हृद्रोगकुम्भौ घटराशिसंज्ञे मीनो झषश्चान्तिमरिष्फसंज्ञः ॥

'The first sign of the Zodiac is Meṣa, Aja, Vasta and Kriya; the second Vṛṣa, Ukṣan, Go, Tāvuri and Śukra-bha (the house of Venus); the third Baudha (belonging to Mercury), Nṛ-mithuna (human-pair) and Jituma; the fourth sign Cāndra (belonging to the moon) and Kulīra. The names of the Siṃha Rāśi are Kaṇṭhīrava (Lion) and Leya; The sixth is Pāthona, Abalā (the weaker sex) and Tanvī (the slender damsel). The seventh is Jūka, Vaṇik (merchant) and Taulin (the possessor of the balance). The names of Scorpio are Kaurpya, the eighth and Kauja (belonging to Mars). The ninth sign is Jaiva (belonging to Jupiter), Dhanus, Taukṣika and Cāpa (bow), the tenth is Ākekara and Cakra. The names of Aquarius are Hṛdroga and Kumbha and the last sign is Mīna, Jhaṣa and Riṣpha.

The Vidyāmādhavīya also says:

संज्ञाभिः क्रिय-लेय-जूक-जुतुमाः कोर्पिः कुलीरस्तथा
हृद्रोगेत्थसितौक्षिकाश्च कथिताः पाथोनकास्ताबुरुः ।
आकोकेर इतीह मेषमृगपौ तौलिर्नृयुग्मालिनौ
कर्की कुम्भझषौ धनुर्युवतिगोनक्राः क्रमाद्राशयः ॥ १

It will be noticed that neither the Bṛhajjātaka nor the Sarvārtha-Cintāmaṇi mentions *Karkin* as a name of the fourth sign of the Zodiac,

though the word is of fairly frequent occurrence in Astrological literature. They were evidently under the impression that just as Kumbhin or Kumbhadhara is used for Kumbha, Dhanvin or Dhanurbhṛt for Dhanus, Taulin or Tulādhara for Tulā, Karkin is used for Karka or Karkaṭa and it is superfluous to mention it separately.

Another point to note is that the Sarvārtha-Cintāmaṇi substitutes Riṣpha, the name of the twelfth house, for Itthas or Itthasi. It may be mentioned in this connexion that even Varāha Mihira has no occasion to use the term *Itthas* in his Bṛhajjātaka.

We shall now take up the peculiar names one by one.

(1) The name of the first sign is Kriya. It is merely the Greek word *krīyos* 'ram'. Many philologists hold that the word was originally *krī(w)os*. The corresponding form in Sanskrit would be *klīva*. Since there is no separate character for the long *i* in Greek and since *kriya* as found in many Skt. words like *sa-kriya, niṣ-kriya* etc. is spelt with a short *i*, Gk. *krīyos* was converted into *kriya* in Skt. The Gk. word means etymologically 'the horned one' and is used for the ram. The Latin name of the sign is Aries which means exactly the same thing. The word is cognate with Gk. *eriphos* 'kid' and Lith. *erytis* 'lamb'. The Hebrew name of the sign is Taleh 'lāmb'.

The word Kriya occurs in Bṛhat-Parāśara-Horā, Jaimini-Sūtra, Bṛhaj-Jātaka and other works on Astrology.

(2) The name of the second sign is Tāvuri. It is the Gk. word Tauros 'bull' disguised almost beyond recognition. What appears as Tauros in Gk. should normally be represented by Tora in Skt. It might have been changed into *tura* or *tara* to give it a Sanskritic look. Since, however, the digamma (*w*) is dropped in several Gk. dialects as, for instance, in *neos* for Skt. *navah*, a *v* was inserted here between *a* and *u*. *Tāvuri* should therefore be written with the semivowel *v* and not with the mute *b*. The final *o* was changed into *i*, probably because of the very frequent occurrence of the dative singular form *taurōi*. The base is probably *tu* 'to swell' found in Skt. *tavas* 'strength', *tumra* 'well-developed', *tūtuma* 'strong,' Eng. *tumour* etc. The Skt. name Vṛṣa is the later form of Vṛṣan and is cognate with Gk. *arsēn, arren*, 'male'. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the earliest name for the masculine gender was Vṛṣan in Skt. and Arren in Gk.

(3) The name of the third sign is Jituma. It is Gk. *didumos* in Skt. garb. The Gk. word is the reduplicated form of *duo* 'two' (like Skt. *dvandva*) with the suffix *-mos* which is found also in Gk. *amphidumos* 'double twin' and is generally used in the plural form

didumoi. Though the original sound which appears as δ in Gk. is represented by *d* in Skt. also (*e.g.*, Gk. *deka*, Skt. *daśa*, Gk. *domos*, Skt. *damah* ; Gk. *duo*, Skt. *dvau*), still in borrowed words Gk. δ is often represented by *j* also in Skt. Thus for *Aphrodite* we find *Āsphujit* in Skt., for Gk. *diametron* we have *jāmitra* and so on. In Skt. *Dṛkkāṇa* for Gk. *dekanos*, Skt. *dyūna* or *dyūta* for Gk. *duton*, Skt. *drahma* for Gk. *drakhmē* etc., Gk. δ is represented by δ in Skt. The second *d* of *didumos* is changed into *t* to make it look more like Skt., the suffix *-tum* being very common in the classical language.

This would appear to indicate that at the period when these Gk. words were borrowed in Skt., Gk. δ partook of the nature of both *d* and *j* (just as at the present day some people pronounce English words like *education* with *d* and some with *j*).

The Latin name of the sign is Gemini which is the plural of *gemin-us* 'twin' and is a literal translation of Gk. *didumoi*. The root is *gem* 'to join, unite, fasten.' From this root we have *jāmi* 'brother or sister' and *jāmātṛ* 'son-in-law', etc. in Skt., *gamos* 'marriage', *gambros* 'a relation by marriage, son-in-law, sister's husband, wife's brother, father-in-law' in Gk. and *gener* (originally *gemer*) 'son-in-law' in Latin.

The Skt. name Mithuna comes from the root *mith* which meant originally 'to change, exchange, alternate' and then signified on the one hand 'to engage in altercation' and on the other 'to associate.' Thus Mithuna means a pair (consisting of a male and a female) and in Skt. works on Astrology the sign is described as a man with a club and a girl with a lyre. In Gk. works, however, the sign takes its name from the most prominent constellation consisting of the brothers Castor and Pollux. Thus Virgil says:

> Fair Leda's twins, in time to stars decreed
> One fought on foot, one curbed the fiery steed.

It is interesting to note in this connexion that the word *mithuna* was originally masculine, but gradually with the predominance of logic which Earle defines for purposes of philology as "an intellectual consistency in syntax, a regularity of language which glides smoothly and with a sense of consecutiveness", the word became neuter.

(4) The name of the fourth sign is Karkin. This is evidently Gk. *karkino-s*. The Gk. word ends in *o*, but when it is borrowed in Skt. the final *o*, which should have become *a*, is dropped to give the word the appearance of ending in the affix *-in*. The borrower evidently thought that as in Skt. we may use *phalina* and *phalin*, *barhiṇa* and *barhin* just as we please, in exactly the same way we can use

karkin for *karkiṇa*. Moreover, the Gk. word often appears as *karkin* as the first member of compounds. Thus we have *karkin-eutēs* 'crab-catcher' etc.

The Latin name is Cancer where *n* for *r* is due to dissimilation. As the word is evidently formed with the reduplication of the root *qar* 'to be hard' (Skt. *kṛ*), the older form was probably *carcro*, but the form actually occurring is *cancer*. The same dissimilation is found in Skt. *kaṅkaṭa* 'armour.' The root is found unreduplicated in Eng. *hard* and Gk. *kratus* 'hardness, strength'. The reduplication shows very clearly in Skt. *karkara* 'hard, harsh'.

The ancient Hebrew name of this sign was Sartan-'to hold, bind.'

(5) The name of the fifth sign (Siṃha 'lion') is Leya. The nominative singular of the word for lion is *leōn* in Gk. and for lioness is *leaina* both of which show an *n*. The Latin nominative singular, however, is *leō* without the *n*. The corresponding Hebrew word is *labi* 'lion.' The ancient Indians had probably no hesitation in dropping the *n* of *leōn* because of the *n* movable in some of the Gk. dialects. The semivowel *y* is added to avoid hiatus. And since most of the names of the signs end in *a*, the long *o* of Gk. and Latin is changed into *a* so that we get *leya* which looks like the gerund of the root *lī*. Because of the similarity of the characters *y* and *p* in Devanāgarī script, *lepa* which has the advantage of being a well-established Skt. word often makes its appearance in place of *leya*.

It is interesting to note that *leya* occurs in Jaimini Sūtra also.

(6) The name of the sixth sign is Pārthona which looks like a compound of *Pārtha* and *ūna*. In reality, however, it is the Gk. word *parthenos* 'virgin' in Skt. garb. *Partheneia* in Gk. means 'virginity' and *parthenolatry* in Eng. is used in the sense of kumārī-pūjā or the worship of virgins. In Gk. *parthenōpos* means 'of maiden aspect.' *Parthenon* 'the Virgin's Chamber' is the name of the famous temple of Athena Parthenos at Athens. The word might have been represented by either *pārthana* or *pārthena* in Skt., but *pārthana* would be meaningless and *pārthena* would look like the instrumental singular of the word *pārtha*, hence the ancient Indians showed nice discrimination in converting the word to *pārthona* in Skt.

"Parthenos" is a word of doubtful etymology. According to many philologists the second element in *par-thenos* is "perhaps from a stem *then-*, in the sense of 'physical development', from base **gwhen-*, 'to increase, grow ; to be enlarged, swell' ; Cf. Gk. *eutheneia* 'abundance' (Wyld).

Kuntī was a virgin when she met the sun and her name was Pṛth or Pṛthā. In the Mahābhāṣya (iv. 1.120) Patañjali derives *pārtha* from *pṛth* which is regarded as denoting a female. One feels strongly tempted to believe that Gk. *parthenos* comes from the root which appears in Skt. as *pṛth*. No doubt Skt. *pṛthu* (Av. *pərəthu*) is generally equated with Gk. *platus* (Eng. *flat*) and the unvoiced aspirates of Skt. are generally represented by unvoiced unaspirates in Greek, but in this particular case, the *r* may have protected the *th*.

The Latin name of this sign is Virgo 'virgin'. The Hebrew name is Bethula 'virgin or branch of a tree'.

(7) The name of the seventh sign (Tulā 'balance') is Jūka. This is directly borrowed from Gk. *zugos*, *zugon*, balance. The Sanskrit word corresponding to Gk. *zugo-n* is *yuga-m*, but in Astrological literature the word *jūka* has been coined after the pattern of *yūkā* or *yūka* 'louse'. Though the *u* of *zugos* is short, still it has been lengthened in *jūka*, because the *u* of *yūka* is long, the *g* of the second syllable has been changed to *k* for the same reason. Max Müller's MS., no doubt, reads *juka* with a short *u*, but as has already been pointed out, that is evidently a scribal error. The ancient Gk. name of this sign is "Claws of the Scorpion" ("Khelou tou Scorpiou"[1]). The Latin name for Tulā is Libra 'balance' and the ancient Hebrew name Mozanaim 'the scales.'

(8) The name of the eighth sign (Vṛścika 'scorpion') is Korpya. The Gk. word is Skorpio-s. The initial *s* has been dropped as in so many other words for ease of utterance. The *o* in the first syllable has been retained for the sake of euphony though the final *o* has been changed into *a* as usual. Normally, the word that is represented by *scorpio-s* in Gk. should be represented by *skarpya-h* in Skt. The Latin name is Scorpio and the ancient Hebrew name Akrab 'conflict'.

(9) The peculiar name of the ninth sign (Dhanus 'bow') is Taukṣika. The Gk. name is Toxotēs (in the Doric dialect Toxotas) 'archer', the feminine form is *toxotis* 'archeress'. In Gk. *toxo-n*' means 'bow'. The plural *toxa* means also 'bow and arrows' and is a nice instance of "ekaśeṣa" of Skt. Grammar. The secondary suffix *-tēs* (Doric *-tas*) is generally added to denote 'the person occupied with' etc. There is no Taddhita suffix in Skt. corresponding in form to this secondary suffix *-tas*, but various suffixes like *-ṭhak*, *-thañ*, *-aṇ* etc. correspond in meaning. Thus from *naus* 'ship' (Skt. *nau-ḥ*) is derived *nautēs* 'sailor' (Skt. *nāvika-ḥ*), from *oikos* 'house' (Skt. *veśa-ḥ*) is

[1] Acc. to Chantraine, it is undoubtedly a borrowed word in Gk. See *La Formation des Noms en Grec Ancien*, p. 15.

derived *oikotēs* 'house-servant' (Skt. *vaiśika-ḥ*?), from *polis* 'city' (*cf.* Skt. *purī*) is derived *politēs* 'citizen' (Skt. *paura-ḥ*). As in several important cases the Skt. suffix *-ṭhak* expresses the sense conveyed by the Gk. suffix *-tēs*, the ancient Indian astrologers used the suffix *-ṭhak* with *toxo* and for *toxotēs* 'bow-man' they used *taukṣika*. This clearly shows that some of these ancient Indian writers understood the Greek language thoroughly and had a clear idea of the base and suffixes of many of the words in that language.

Toxotēs was translated into Latin by Sagittarius, *sagitta* (from *sag* 'sharp') meaning arrow and the suffix *-arius* (Eng. *-ary*) signifying 'connected with'. The ancient Hebrew name of the sign is Kesith 'arrow'.

(10) The name of the tenth sign (Makara 'sea-monster') is Ākokera which is nothing but Gk. *aigokerōs* in disguise. In Gk., *aix* (genitive singular *aigos*) means 'goat' and *keras* means 'horn', so that *aigokerōs* means 'goat-horned'. It is difficult to understand why no attempt has been made to give a semblance of Sanskritism to this Gk. word. The Sarvārthacintāmaṇi shows good sense in changing *ākokera* into *ākekara*, thereby making it identical with the well-established Skt. word *ākekara* 'squinting slightly' from *ā* 'slightly' and *kekara* 'squint-eyed'. If *parthenos* could be changed into *pārthona* there is no reason why *aigokerōs* should not be changed into *ākekara*. The only explanation that I can suggest is that the retaining of the two long vowels was due to the exigencies of the metre in the original treatise in which it was first introduced. In Varāha's work we can easily read :

तौक्षिकश्चाकेकरो द्वद्वोगश्चान्तयभं चेत्थस् ॥

which would avoid the hiatus between **तौक्षिक** and **आकेकर** and have a **च** with each of the signs conjoined. A modern writer would probably translate *aigo-kerōs* by *ajaśirāh*. The word was translated into Latin as Capricornus 'goat-horn.' In Latin *caper* (gen. sing. *capri*) means 'he-goat' and *cornu* 'horn'.

"The left side of printed emblem somewhat resembles a goat's head and horns. . . . The seven curving stars on the right side suggest a Dolphin ascending in the sea." The Indian name Makara has reference to the right side whereas the Gk. name *aigo-kerōs* has reference to the left side.

(11) The name of the eleventh sign (Kumbha[1] 'water-jar') is

[1] *Hudria* in Gk. means 'water-pot, pitcher.' The proverbial expression *epi thurais tēn hudrian* means 'to break the pitcher at the door', 'There's many a slip' Twixt cup and lip.

very interesting. It is Hṛdroga 'heart-disease'. The Gk. name is Hudro-khoos 'water-pourer'. Gk. *hudor* (Skt. *udan*) means water. As the first member of a compound the word appears as *hudro* (*cf.* Eng. *hydrophobia* from *hudor* 'water' and *phobos* 'fear'). *Khoos* is from the root *kheō* (Skt. *hu*) meaning 'to pour'. The suffix is *-o* with which agent nouns are formed from roots. The corresponding Skt. elements in this case would be *udan*, *hu* and *-aṇ* and the resulting Skt. word would be *udahāva ḥ*. The primary suffix *-ka* (Vārttika iii. 2. 5.2) may also be added in this sense, in which case the Skt. form would be *udahuva-ḥ*. With *-ac* acc. to Pāṇini iii 1. 134 the form would be *uda-havaḥ*.

The Latin word is Aqarius 'water-carrier' from *aqua* 'water' and *-arius* 'connected with'. The Hebrew name is Delhi 'the Water Uru.'

(12) The name of the twelfth sign (Mīna 'fish') is variously given in different works as Itthas, Itthasi, Ittham and Irthasi. These are merely remouldings of Gk. *ikhthu-es*, nom. pl. of *ikhthus* 'fish' or *ikhthusi*, dat. pl. of the same stem. It is possible that *kh* was assimilated to *th* following the Prakrit model and *u* changed into *am* to make up the Skt. word *ittham* or as near an approach to it as possible. If the correct reading be *irthas*, then the name of this second sixth sign must have been influenced by that of the sixth sign *pārthenos*.

In Gk. the Dat. Pl. of *ikhthus* is *ikhthusi*. This was borrowed in Sanskrit as *itthasi*. Armenian *jukn*, Lithuanian *zuvis*, Old Prussian acc. pl. *suckaus* show that the *i* of *ikhthus* is prothetic. And acc. to Brugmann Gk. *khth* stands for Indo-European *gjh*. So philologically *ikhthus* should be represented by *jhūḥ* in Skt.

The Latin name of the sign is Pisces, nom. pl. of *piscis* fish. The word is cognate with Sk. *piccha* 'slime,' *picchala* or *picchila* 'slimy.' The ancient Hebrew name is Dagim 'the fishes.'

Round The World

Reform of the System of Electing President in U.S.A.

Sometime ago Senator Lodge proposed an amendment to the Constitution by way of reforming the existing arrangement of electing the President of the U.S.A. Since 1789 every state has elected every four years as many electors as it has had members in the two houses of the Congress. The mode of electing these electors has differed from time to time and from state to state. But at present they are elected on a general ticket by the people of the whole state in all parts of the Union.

The idea behind the indirect system of election was that these electors would be an independent body of men, would have superior discernment, virtue and information and consequently would be best fitted to decide upon the best of candidates for the Presidential office. But it was brought home to a large section of the people of the United States early in their history that electors "have not answered the design of their institution. They are not the independent body and superior characters which they were intended to be. They are not left to the exercise of their own judgment; on the contrary they give their vote, or bind themselves to give it, according to the will of their constituents. They have degenerated into mere agents; in a case which requires no agency, and where the agent is useless if he is faithful, and dangerous if he is not." This opinion was recorded in the report of a Select Committee of the Senate in 1826, and three years earlier a Constitutional Amendment had actually been moved by way of abolishing this anomaly. But the system survived this attack and continues to this day.

The amendment proposed by Senator Lodge provides for the abolition of the intermediate electors who have become a mere rubber stamp. But it does not provide for the abolition of the electoral vote. It retains it. Each state will have still as many votes in the Presidential election as it has members in two houses of the Congress and a candidate's number of votes in a state will be in proportion to the number of popular votes he may secure in that state. As a result of the adoption of this procedure a candidate may still be elected to the Presidency although he may not have secured majority of votes cast in the whole Union. Secondly the weightage which small states have at the present time will be maintained. Small and large states have the same number of representatives in the Senate—two. Consequently the number of votes in each state will be what its population is entitled to plus two. So New York entitled to 45 will have 47 and Vermont entiled to 1 will have 3.

A writer in the Political Science Quarterly of March, 1949 raises the question whether proportional division of votes in a state among rival candidates as proposed by the Lodge amendment does not demand also a plural executive elected according to the proportional principle. If it is unfair for a candidate to receive all the votes in a state although he has secured the support of only sixty per cent of the voters, it is equally unfair for one candidate to monopolise the Presidency for four years although he may not have secured, say, more than seventy per cent. of the votes. The Presidency, he says, should be in commission and different parties should be represented on it in proportion to the popular support they may have gained. It is an interesting and ingenious argument for plural executive.

We do not know whether the Lodge amendment would ultimately be carried. As emphasised already it would, if adopted, do away with the anomaly of the electoral college as it will also do away with the umpirage of the House of Representatives which has now to decide in case no candidate has secured absolute majority of electoral votes. But constitutional amendment is difficult to obtain. The process is intricate and the people are rather conservative particularly in regard to their Constitution which gods made and which profane hands should leave untouched. Even if Lodge amendment is carried and the system of electing the President is changed, there is no chance that the Presidency will be put in commission on the ground cited above. That will be a revolutionary change in the system of American government, for which none are prepared.

German Military Attaches

Another writer makes detailed observations in the same number of the Political Science Quarterly on the powers and functions assigned to the Military Attaches in the Prussian Monarchy and German Empire. Prussia started appointing Military Attaches in 1816 after the Congress of Vienna had imposed a settlement upon Europe. It should be remembered that some other states had already initiated the practice of nominating such attaches in their embassies abroad. Prussia only followed their example after the Napoleonic wars were over. For this country, as for the German Empire established in 1871 by Bismarck, this practice of having Military Attaches in foreign courts became particularly important. It should be remembered in this connection that army here was not only a state within the State but "the State within the State."

It was not surprising on this account that the Military Attaches arrogated to themselves functions and responsibilities which became inconsistent with the authority of the Ambassador under whom they were to work. They became also a thorn on the side of the foreign office which was to deal with foreign relations. Not unoften the Military Attaches

submitted direct reports to the King and Emperor. Later they were no doubt asked to submit their reports to their Ambassador who was to forward them. But even when compelled to do so, the Attaches continued to go over the head of their immediate chiefs and wrote private letters to the Chief of Staff. These reports and letters again were not concerned only with military matters but made elaborate references to political affairs as well and made recommendations which not unoften ran counter to those of their Ambassadors. William II reposed greater confidence in these Military Attaches than in his Ambassadors who were mere civilians. The result can be more imagined than described.

Chinese Communists to Line Up with Soviet Union

Wishful thinking in democratic countries has become notorious since the rise of Nazism in Germany. In the thirties it was believed even in circles, which ought to have better information, that the one ambition of Hitler and his gang was to march against the Soviet Union and leave the field clear in the West for the democracies to flourish. Even when the Nazis turned against the liberal Republic which Masaryk and Benes had reared, the illusion continued to warp the imagination of Chamberlain, Halifax and Company. In regard to rapidly sovietised China also some of the democracies have that pathetic confidence that the Chinese will be Chinese first and Communists afterwards. The Chinese Communists are supposed to have principles and ideologies of their own and in choosing friends and allies they will consult Chinese interests and not those of international communism. This bubble has now been pricked by the Chinese Communist dictator, Mao Tse-Tung himself, in a public statement. With regard to form of government he has emphasised that in China he will set up what he has described as the People's Democratic Dictatorship. In other words the system of government will be the same as in the Soviet Union. In regard to foreign policy he has stated explicitly that Communist China will align itself with the U.S.S.R. It does not seem that the Anglo-American statesmen have yet seen light, otherwise the enthusiasm of the British Government to run the blockade and trade with Communist China cannot be explained. Churchill, of course, once observed that "one can trade with cannibals."

General Elections in Canada

The Canadian House of Commons was dissolved and a general election held in the Dominion in June last. As a result of this election the Liberals have secured an unprecedented majority in the House. They have now there a contingent of 193 members in a chamber of 262. Progressive Conservatives have got only 42 seats, the C.C.F. 12, the Social Credit Party 10 and the rest 5.

The results of the elections have belied expectations in many quarters. It should be remembered that the Liberals have been in power without break since the mid-thirties and the traditional swing of the pendulum was expected by now. The retirement of Mackenzie King from the leadership of the Party was another factor reckoned with by those who expected the opposition to come to power. The Liberals have never been a homogeneous team to be managed easily. In fact it was believed by many that without the guiding hand of Mr King the Party would break into pieces. Lastly there was the peculiar attitude of the French-Canadians who contributed a large proportion of members of the Party. Many of them were known to be Quebec nationalists, thinking in terms of their province. It was expected that many of them would now break away from Liberal moorings and form a group of their own to fight for home-rule in Quebec.

The results of the elections have proved false all these apprehensions and expectations. One of the important contributing factors of the Liberal success was of course the choice of a French-Canadian as the successor of Mr King. A leader of the Quebec bar, he came late into politics. But his towering personality has not only held the allegiance of the province for the Party but has brought successes for it elsewhere. Secondly, there is the important fact that the Conservative Party has been practically without a leader for fifteen years and inspite of its adding the word Progressive to its name during the War the Party has been without any positive policy. Mr Drew who leads the Party is an able parliamentarian no doubt. But he has not the confidence of the general people outside. A Party without any inspiring leadership and still more without any constructive programme cannot be expected to win the support of the electorate in these days of stress. The Social Credit Party has only local significance. It cannot have any effective challenge on a nation-wide scale. The C.C.F. ought of course to have done better. It is the Labour Party of Canada and has been in existence for nearly two decades now. It has an appeal throughout the country. Its leadership is also effective. But North America does not yet offer environments in which a socialist party may flourish. The province of Quebec which is still largely under the control of Roman Catholic priests gives no quarters to any leftist principle. At the present moment particularly when the communist scare has become so great, every leftist stands the risk of being called a Communist. In view of this it is not very strange that the C.C.F. has been dismissed by the electorate with a dozen seats. So the Liberals continue to rule.

Non-Oryans in Orissa

The position of Bengalis settled in Bihar has remained difficult for years. Without a certificate of domicile none of them are entitled to a

government job. Nor can they gain admission to many of the classes in colleges and technical institutions without it. Even in matters of trade, commerce, industry there are handicaps for those without the certificate. This certificate again may not be easy to obtain.

In Orissa an announcement has been published regarding the position of outsiders in that province. We have not before us all the details of the Government policy as embodied in that announcement. But it appears that no domicile certificate will be necessary for an outsider to claim rights of citizenship. Any Indian who has resided in Orissa for twelve years will be treated for all practical purpose as a Orya. The period insisted on is too long. Besides we do not know what procedure will be followed in proving that a particular person has resided for the said period in Orissa. Secondly, after 1950 it will be necessary that such a person reads and speaks Orya. He would not be required in this connection to pass any recognised general test as upper primary examination. He will have to get through a special test in Orya. To pass a recognised academic examination of a certain stage is one thing but to pass an ad hoc examination in Orya is another. The former has a standard and men who would hold it would be guided only by academic considerations. But the latter may be influenced by political considerations. In some of the southern states in the U.S.A. persons to be admitted as voters have to pass a literary test. White candidates easily pass it and become voters although they may be only semi-literates. But the Negro candidates hardly pass although they may be University graduates. In view of these experiences elsewhere, it may be useful for the public to discuss this announcement of Government policy in Orissa threadbare and bring out the flaws for rectification while there is yet time. We believe that both in proving twelve years' stay in Orissa and in getting over the literary test there will be difficulty in the future.

It is very unfortunate that although India is regarded as one and the Central Government is likely to be stronger here than in any other federation, the country is fast dissolving into so many provincial nationalities. We wrote of it in the last issue and we are emphasising it again here. Under the American system any person who is a citizen of the Union is a citizen of the state in which he resides. This is a good law and has helped much in making the United States one country and one nationality. If the bonds of unity are to be strengthened, India may adopt that law. But the framers of the new Indian Constitution are thinking otherwise. They have provided for it in the Draft Constitution that people of one province will have rights in another province subject to the provisions of laws which may be in force in any province in this regard at the time of the promulgation of the new Constitution. So Bihar's practice of demanding domicile certificate cannot be overridden by the new Constitution. Nor would the new regulations issued by the Orissa Government be similarly overridden by

that Constitution when it comes into force. So before these regulations become stereotyped, a frank discussion should take place.

Consular Immunities and the Kasenkina Case

The kind of diplomatic immunities the Consular officials are to enjoy became the subject of debate when the Kasenkina case occurred in New York City last year about this time. The matter was subsequently discussed threadbare in the January issue of the American Journal of. International Law by Professor Lawrence Preuss of the University of Michigan.

Mrs. Oksana Kasenkina was a Soviet citizen employed as a teacher of children of the members of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations at New York. Evidently she was troubled in her mind and was not at ease, and on that account it was decided to send her back to her country. But unwilling to return to the Soviet Union she appealed to the editor of a Russian language newspaper in New York for refuge. This was on the day fixed for her sailing for Russia. Her appeal did not go in vain. She was accommodated by a white-Russian welfare organisation in an establishment called Reed Farm. She went there voluntarily. But at the same time while there she wrote a letter to M. Lomakin, the Soviet Consul-General in New York. The contents of this letter have not been disclosed but in response to it the Consul-General went to Reed Farm on the 7th August, 1948, and on his return to the Consulate was accompanied by Mrs. Kasenkina. There is no evidence that M. Lomakin used force or undue influence in persuading her to come to the Consulate from Reed Farm. Two days after Kasenkina's arrival at the Russian Consulate, the Soviet Ambassador made a protest to the State Department at Washington that she had been kidnapped and forcibly detained in Reed Farm. He further complained that this was done with the connivance of certain Government agencies. A similar protest was also made at Moscow by Molotov to the American Ambassador there.

Meanwhile removal of Mrs. Kasenkina to the Soviet Consulate had roused suspicion in the press that she was being detained there against her will. On the 11th August the Consul-General was served with a writ of Habeas Corpus by the New York Supreme Court for the production of Mrs. Kasenkina on the following day at the Court. The Consul-General ignored the writ. What was more, the Soviet Ambassador presented a note to the State Department in which he stated that the allegation that the Consul-General of the U. S. S. R would detain and imprison a citizen of the country he represented was inconsistent with the dignity of the Consulate. The delivery of the writ was inconsistent with the rights which Soviet Consuls happened to enjoy and ought to enjoy under international law. On receipt of this note the State Department advised the Supreme Court to stay proceedings and this was done. But the case became complicated soon by the fact that Mrs. Kasenkina leaped on

that day from a third-story window of the Consulate-General and sustained serious injuries. The members of the Consulate carried her inside the building but the police who were waiting by went into the building, succeeded in bringing an ambulance, though the use of telephone in the building was denied to them, and removed her to Roosevelt Hospital. The Soviet Vice-Consul who saw her at the Hospital after several persistent attempts was told by the patient "You kept me a prisoner: you would not let me go". In other words her story was that she jumped in order to escape.

On the day following this occurrence the Soviet Ambassador saw the Under-Secretary of State and protested that the New York Police had arbitrarily burst into the building of the Consulate-General, had seized a letter of Mrs. Kasenkina in her room and had besides attempted to search it. By such acts the New York Police had violated the extraterritoriality of the building of the Consulate-General. He also demanded that the Soviet Consul-General should be permitted to post a twenty-four hour guard over Mrs. Kasenkina at the Hospital, that the Consul-General should be permitted to see her at will and that Mrs. Kasenkina should be placed "under the protection" of the Soviet Consular authorities. To these the State Department replied that Mrs. Kasenkina was free to see any one including the Soviet Consular officers but it would not compel her to see any one against her will. As for "protection" it pointed out: "This Government recognises the right of Soviet officials in the United States to take appropriate measures for the protection of the rights of Soviet citizens. Such Soviet citizens are, however, themsleves entitled to the protection of the applicable laws of the United States and the Government of the United States cannot permit the exercise within the United States of the police power of any foreign government". As for the charge of kidnapping which had been previously made, an investigation was made and the charge was proved false and the Soviet Ambassador was informed accordingly. The State Department further pointed out that the Consul-General had issued statements in regard to this case, which were deliberately designed to mislead the American public, and thereby he had been guilty of gross violation of the internationally accepted standards governing the conduct of foreign officials. In view of this the State Department was advising the President to revoke the exequator issued to Consul-General Lomakin and he should leave the United States within a reasonable time. When actually the exequator was revoked, the Soviet Government closed the Consulates at New York and San Francisco and asked the United States also to close the American Consulate at Vladivostock and stop the arrangement which had been made for opening a similar Consulate at Leningrad.

Among the other legal issues involved was one that the Soviet Consular officers enjoyed diplomatic immunity and no writ could be served upon them. The other issue was that the consular premises being extraterritorial and inviolable, they might be entered only by the express authorisa-

tion of the Consul-General. In the face of these principles it had been illegal, it was alleged, for the New York Supreme Court to issue the writ and for the police to enter the premises after the leap of Mrs. Kasenkina from the third story window. Now as regards the first of these two issues, the New York Supreme might not have been justified in issuing the writ, but this not because the Consular premises were extraterritorial but because under the Constitution of the U.S.A. State Courts have been denied this jurisdiction. It is now practically a universal rule that Consular officers and assistants are not considered to have diplomatic status unless in particular cases by treaty or arrangement they are given it. So M. Lomakin, the Soviet Consul-General, could not claim immunity from jurisdiction of the United States Courts, although the State Courts under the Constitution of the country could not exercise such jurisdiction. It should be remembered in this connection that in 1815 M. Kosloff, the Russian Consul-General at Philadelphia, was arrested on a charge of rape and was committed to jail to await trial in the city courts. The case against him was, however, quashed but only on the ground that State courts had no jurisdiction in the matter. The other ground that M. Kosloff as Consul-General might not be a diplomatic officer but had functions akin to those of such an officer and could on that account claim immunity was also put forward but rejected. As for the second issue that the Consulate was extraterritorial and could not be entered without express authority of its Chief, it should be borne in mind even in respect of diplomatic missions extraterritoriality is regarded at best as a picturesque metaphor. "...it is doubtful whether the degree of immunity claimed by the Soviet Government (in respect of the Consulate-General) could be sustained even if the premises of the Soviet Embassy were involved."

Gilbert Murray on Asia for Asiatics

Dr. Gilbert Murray was for years the oracle of humanism at the University of Oxford. After his retirement from his Professorship a decade ago, he continued to give expression to his views from time to time on world affairs. A few months ago writing in the Contemporary Review on the Atlantic Pact he went out of his way to refer to a statement of Pandit Nehru. He observed: "From large parts of Asia, wisely or almost compulsorily, British authority has retreated, in some places with deplorable results. In Indonesia and Cochin China the position of Holland and France is, to say the least, unstable. Western ideas have lost their power in China. I move with hesitation on such uncertain and dangerous ground. But I note Pandit Nehru's call of "Asia for the Asiatics" and his statement that the presence of European army anywhere on Asiatic soil is an insult to the whole of Asia. This is a very serious statement; since all nationalism breeds trouble, yet it brings in some ways

a comforting message. India proud of her independence will not tolerate the instrusion of foreign communism, and the example of India will probably have great influence further east. The present friendship of both Pakistan and India with Britain and their intimate acquaintance with British methods will be great elements of stability. My anxiety is of another sort. I ask myself how long the vast barbaric millions of Asia will continue to be guided by men so deeply impregnated by Western cultures as Nehru and other nationalist leaders and what will happen when Asia is really governed by "Asiatic ideas" with Asiatic standards of justice and administration."

What are we to admire most in these few sentences—his regret at the withdrawal of western authority from most parts of Asia, or his indignation at Pandit Nehru's statement that no European soldiers would be tolerated in any part of Asia, or his patronising of Pandit Nehru and his colleagues for being impregnated with western culture and having friendship for Britain, or for his anxiety as to the future when Asiatic barabarians, not impregnated with western culture and not friendly towards Britain, will govern Asia? The great humanist, accustomed till the evening of his life to Britain's rule over large parts of Asia, has lost his balance because of the rolling up of British authority in India. The veneer of detachment which Greek studies seemed to have given to his utterances in the past is absent in the sentences quoted above. Liberalism is a creed which only prosperity may stimulate. In circumstances more adverse it gets no sustenance and withers and dies out.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Gandhiana compiled by P. G. Deshpande and published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Bombay, 1948. Pp. 239.

It appears that one of the sections in the Khadi Exhibition organised by the Gujarat Vidyapith on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Gandhiji was a collection of books by, on or about Gandhiji, the list of which covered ebout eight foolscap pages. This, it may be stated, was the first modest attempt at having a Gandhian bibliography. The real beginning, hewever, came when the Gujarat Library Conference met at Ahmedabad in 1941. Here arrangements were made to hold an exhibition of Gandhian literature and a bibliography on the subject was compiled by Shri P. G. Deshpande, Librarian of the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya and Shri K. Desai, one of the secretaries of the conference. This was published by the Vidyapith the same year and the demand was so great that it was sold out almost immediately. In the volume under review, Shri Deshpande has, as far as practicable, brought the list up-to-date dedicating it Mahadev Desai and Jayshanker Trivedi whom he describes as "two *bhaktas* of Gandhiji who took keen interest" in this work.

The total number of titles included number about 2,800 about half of which are in English and the rest in eight of our Indian languages such as Hindi, Urdu, Gujrati, Marathi, Bengali, etc. Efforts were made to secure lists of books in such South Indian languages as Telagu, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada but the response was very poer. The compiler hopes to make good this deficiency in the next edition. Further, as he had to work single-handed, he has not succeeded in tapping the rich material scattered in periodicals, Indian and non-Indian.

There can be little doubt that this bibliography meets a genuine need and that as it has been compiled under exceptional handicaps in a place far away from old and wealthy libraries, it speaks much of the industry of Shri Deshpande, of his keen interest in his work no less than of his love and reverence for Gandhiji which he has desplayed in a characteristically practical fashion.

H. C. Mookerjee

Why Prohibition ? by Dr. H. C Mookerjee, M. A., Ph. D.
The Book House, 15 College square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4 only.

Prohibition is not yet a dead issue nor can it be taken for granted that this is an issue to be completely determined by our legislatures.

The ordinary man has to be educated and a certain amount of work will have to be done, year after year, in bringing to the forefront the facts that stand out against the drink evil. The modern man will not, it is supposed, feel satisfied until history and science and blue reports come to the support of the commonsense view of the question.

The injuries of alcohol—its vital charm and power over weakminded men—eternal vigilance in the adoption of strict measures, these have to be stressed. Though, divorced from the immediate political contest, the cause of prohibition attracts few workes to the field, there is no cause to ask if a book like the one under notice is called for ; on the contrary, such a book has been long wanting, to be placed in the hands of temperance workers and generally, of all social workers, so that this menace to civilisation may be thoroughly exposed.

In the 13 chapters in which Dr. Mookerji divides his book, he has taken pains to deal with alcohol and its effect on the vital organs, the nervous system, blood corpuscles and blood plasma, and not contented with showing the deterioration it works on the human body, he has described how it impaires intellectual efficiency also.

The only remedy is to discourage drinking not only among the poor but also among the rich and educated who set the fashion for all classes of men.

There is no alternative. Experiments are going on in Bombay and other parts of India, and it is to be hoped that Free India will find it unnecessary to exploit the masses with the drink or the drug evil and carry on administration with money derived by degrading humanity.

The one hundred crores (according to Sri Rajagopalachari, quoted on p. 205 of the book) wasted in the purchase of drink and drugs and resulting in general physical and infellectual inefficiency and moral perversion should be utilised in solving the food and cloth problems for the masses, while drastic state intervention is neessary, education of the public on this specific issue is also a crying need, at least as much as the need for a re-orientation of the state policy.

Dr. Mookerjee's book is, as usual with him, well-documented. But, for the custom in ancient India re: the drink habit, the author might have utilised Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray's *Ancient Indian Life* where there is an elaborate description of the subject.

P. R. Sen

Brihadaranyakopanisad—Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, 1945.

This book is an English translation of Brihadāraṇy Kopaniṣad, which is the greatest of the Upaniṣads. The book consists of six chapters, or better, of three parts which deal with the Supreme Being, reflection on it and practical spiritual discipline respectively. The main theme of the

Upaniṣad is that the Knowledge of *Brahman* alone can terminate our ignorance and as such is the ultimate end of human life. Details regarding the ultimate source of the universe apart, in this Upaniṣad some very interesting themes are brought under discussion. Of these the purushavidha *Brahman* and some magical rites are of arresting interest. There we are told that Supreme first brought out of himself, without suffering any diminution of his being, the phenomenon of a man and a woman embracing each other as man and wife, who later separated from each other and became the progenitors, not only of men, but of all the other animal species. This conception of creation is strikingly anti-evolutionary. Though the theory of evolution is still a hypothesis, yet I suspect that the story of the male-female form of the supreme Being is only an allegory in which myth mixes up with fact.

Towards the end of the Upaniṣad some rites, such as *Mantha, Putamantha, Sthālipāka, Medhājanana,* and *Ayushyakarma* are described and discussed. These are very interesting, firstly because some of them might have some bearing upon Eugenics, and secondly because most of them seem to be linked to magic which is being made much of in modern anthropological researches. Though an account of these rites does not quite harmonise with the high themes—*Brahman*, the Knowledge of *Brahman* and the life beyond death, yet the account brings home to our mind the fact that the sages of the Upaniṣads were very much human and were very eager to build on the very foundation of ordinary social life.

This translation is a valuable addition to the increasing volume of literature on the Upaniṣads. This book can well be commended to those who are not learned in Sanskrit, but are deeply intersted in Indian philosophy and mysticism.

Adhar Chandra Das

"Jungle Pilot"—By Barry Sutton. Published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. Pp. 127. Price 6/S.

Barry Sutton's slim volume "Fighter Pilot" is something unusual in the line of war reminiscences. It narrates the experiences of a pilot who flew out from England as Squadron Commander of the small group of R. A. F. fighhters that originally joined the A. V. G. in opposing the Japanese before the fall of Rangoon. Three years later after doing staff work and the job of instructor at an air-fighting training unit, he was made Wing Commander of a group of planes operating from the Imphal Valley under happier circumstances.

The last sentence amply sums up the theme of the book . . . : "and the little aeroplane, this other part of me, surged forward as though compelled by my own joyfulness" . . . The story surges forward by the writer's infectious enthusiasm for the air. There is no great substance but the style of the narrative is intimate, witty and interesting. The

reader soon becomes one of the air-minded fraternity as he learns about Mae-Wests, glycol leaks, forced landings, "reece work" or about being "browned off"..

A sample of this delightful style should suffice . . . . 2 "only this time it would be worse. The machine would hustle along the ground disintegrating and perhaps I should be spread over the wreckage like straw-berry jam. I closed my eyes and with the care of a nurse peeling off an adhesive tape from a wound, eased back the stick a little more. The thing had practically stalled already but miraculously it lifted and staggered into the air. There was a slight bump underneath. I had failed after all . . . . wait a moment. Yes. ye—es. I was still flying and climbing."

"Fighting Pilot" is an enjoyable book.

Y. Mathias.

Christian Prayer and Approach to Chritian Mysticism.—By W. O. Lash, published by Hind Kitabs Limited, Bombay, Price Re. 1.

Fundamentally, all religions are the same and the reader, no matter what faith he professes, must realise that the facts recorded in the pages of this book are exactly those with which he is familiar. The author deserves our praise for his freedom from any secterian zeal.

The Soviet East, a story of the making of man.—By L. G. Ardnihcas, with a foreword by Dr. Dhirendra Nath Sen. Published by Swaraswati Library, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

The thought-provoking pages of the book describe those Soviet activities in the East specially in Central Asia considered even some twenty years ago, an unknown part of the world. The missionary work undertaken by the leaders of the Soviet republic achieved a miracle the parallel of which is scarcely to be found in the annals of human history. The author gives an interesting account of the arduous task and any reader who wants to have thorough understanding of these countries which barely find mention in Indian history will find his pains amply rewarded.

J. N. Mittra.

"Gandhiji's Challenge To Christianity"—By S. K. George. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price: Re. 1-8.

"Gandhiji's Challenge to Christianity" is the provocative title of a little book that is disappointing. Mr. S. K. George being sensitive to suffering, found Satyagraha a noble weapon of peace and its author a great spiritual leader. But it does not follow that Christianity or Christ has failed the world. It is Mr. George who has failed Christianity.

In his chapter on "Christian Missions in India", he gives the non-Christian a false picture of Christians as a people who used philanthropic services merely for proselytisation and who did not rejoice when the Hindus themselves began to remove untouchability. This is not true. Christians all over the world are happy when measures of any kind are taken to better the lot of humanity. It is the spirit of Christ that urges us to conquer our selfishness and work for our neighbour, however unattractive he may appear. Indian Christians are proud of the fact that their humane treatment of the lower classes gave the impetus to the final abolition of untouchability.

As regards inter-religious co-operation, while a true Christian is tolerant, it is impossible to say "yes" to everybody. If Mr. George's theories are logical, are we to agree to polygamy, child-sacrifice, or even the cannibalism of the African savage?

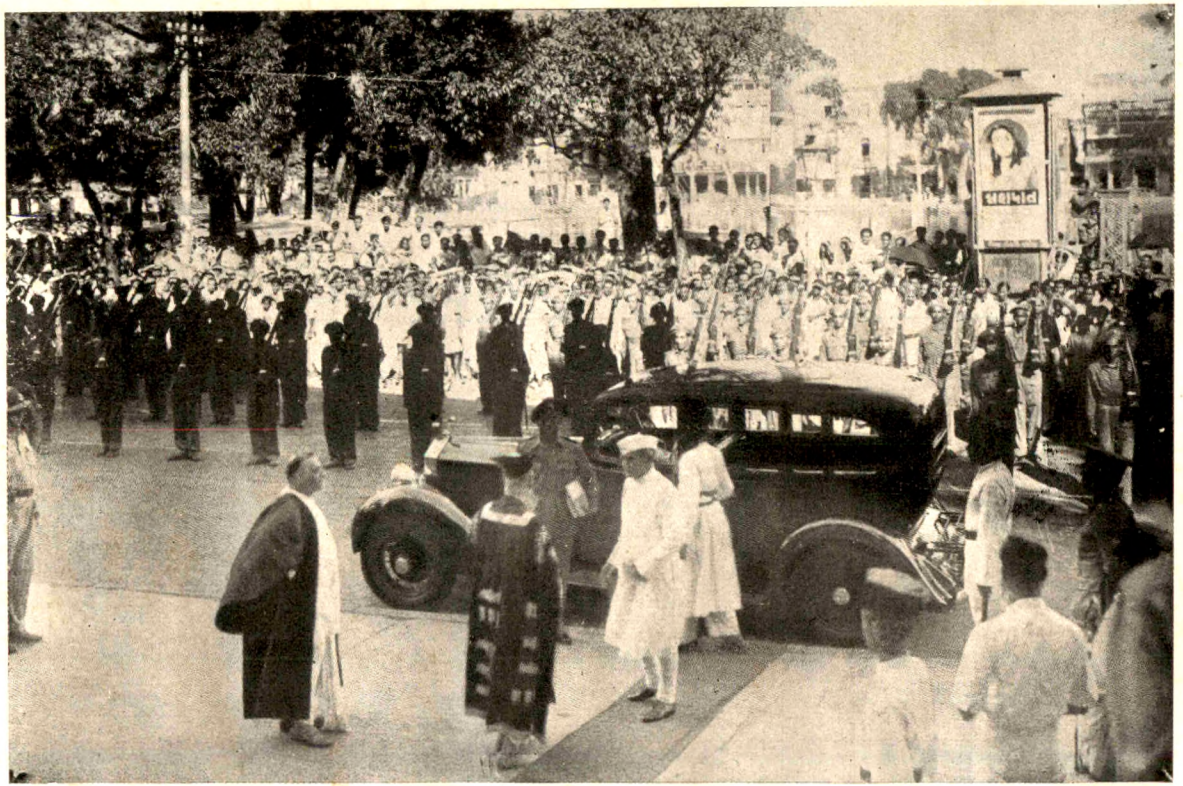
Love is the law of life; but the Christian Church admits the right to defend oneself. Gandhiji's followers themselves rejected the weapon of Satyagraha in dealing with Hyderabad.

Christians all over India have nothing but admiration and reverence for good and upright men like Gandhiji, but if they are sincere Christians they must hold that Christ is the unique mediator between God and man. The world has known many sages and mystics. Even poets like Milton and Wordsworth felt a spiritual power moving them to eloquent and noble utterances, but they were not divine—merely God's instruments. Christ was God Incarnate. Christians believe that nobody can challenge the purity of the life of God-made Man and the tremendous fact of the Resurrection. They try to share His message with others.

It is regrettable that Mr. George does not know his own faith and all its implications properly. We recommend to him Newman's prayer.

"The night is dark and I am far from home,
lead thou me on."

Y. Mathias



The Chancellor being received.

Ourselves

Independence Day Celebration at the University

The second anniversary of Independence was observed in Calcutta amidst usual enthusiasm on the 15th of August last. The disturbing elements which made desperate efforts to mar the celebration had no success. The good sense of the general public, particularly that of the student population in the city, asserted itself with unmistakable strength against lawless elements and foiled their unpatriotic attempts. In the University the anniversary was celebrated, as in past years, by the Vice-Chancellor hoisting the National Flag in different sections in the morning according to the following order:

1. Science College (35, Ballygunge Circular Road) at 7-30 A.M.
2. University Teachers' Training Department (95, Russa Road) at 8-30 A.M.
3. University Compound (College Street) at 9 A.M.
4. Science College (92, Upper Circular Road) at 9-30 A.M.

The Vice-Chancellor also hoisted the National Flag in the David Hare Training College (at 8 A.M.). Everywhere there was a good gathering of teachers and students.

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Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan

We welcome the announcement of Professor Radhakrishnan's appointment as India's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Moscow. To us this appointment is particularly pleasing on two grounds. He was for nearly two decades George V Professor of Philosophy at this University and is now a Professor Emeritus and an Honorary Fellow of the University. During his stay here he took an active interest in the affairs of the University and was for a period the President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts. He was and is one of us and his appointment has on that account been particularly pleasing to all of us in this University. Secondly, it is also a matter of congratulation to us that for the first time a great teacher has been chosen to represent India officially in a foreign country. It is true that Mr. K. M. Pannikar who is India's ambassador at Nanking also started his career as a University

Professor. But although he has maintained his enthusiasm for the life of a scholar, his activities during the last quarter of a century have been carried on in the field of administration. So it is not inaccurate to say that for the first time a teacher has been chosen in the person of Professor Radhakrishnan as India's ambassador abroad. We only hope that this will not be the last. To Professor Radhakrishnan the task that awaits him at Moscow is not unfamiliar. For many years he has been the cultural ambassador of this country in different continents. So far he has, of course, represented India's culture and learning. Now he will be representing the Government as well. We have no doubt about it that he will carry to Moscow the good wishes of all sections of his countrymen.

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Professor K. P. Chattopadhyaya

Professor K. P. Chattopadhyaya was recently awarded the diploma as an Associate Member of the Ecole Francaise D'Extreme Orient, Hanoi. The Commission Internationale Des Arts et Traditions Populaires Institut Internationale de Recherches Ethnographiques et Folkloriques of Paris also elected him as one of their Vice-Presidents.

* * *

Serampore College Founder's Day

In the middle of the last month was observed the Founder's Day at the Serampore College. His Excellency the Chancellor of the University presided over the function, which was held in this connection, and gave away prizes to deserving students of the institution.

Serampore College is older than the University. Founded in 1818 by Dr. Carey in co-operation with his colleagues, Dr. Marshman and William Ward, the College from its start had two objectives—(*i*) to offer instruction to Indian youth in literature and science and (*ii*) to train a selected number of Indian and Anglo-Indian youngmen for Christian Ministry. It is only in regard to literary and scientific studies that the College is affiliated to the University. In the expansion of education and culture Serampore has had a distinct contribution of its own to make. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Chancellor paid a high tribute to the memory of Dr. Carey and his colleagues.

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DIFFERENT EXAMINATION RESULTS, 1949

	Number of Candidates, 1949	Percentage of Passes in 1949	Percentage of Passes in 1948
Matric.	33,768	50	57·3
I A.	9,546	37·8	50·9
I.Sc.	10,245	33·2	51·9
B.A.	3,070	48·4	62·5
B.Sc.	2,478	41	49·3

* * *

LATE JYOTISHCHANDRA MITRA

We are grieved to learn of the death of Sri Jyotishchandra Mitra, Retired Accountant General (Bengal), at his residence in Calcutta on the 20th August last. He was eighty at the time of his death. Born in 1869, he graduated from the Presidency College with First Class Honours in Physics and Mathematics and stood First in the First Class in the M.A. Examination in Physics. He later joined the Finance Department of the Government of India and had the privilege of being appointed the first Indian Accountant General in Bengal. A distinguished graduate of this University he was associated with it as a Fellow for fifteen years. We offer our condolences to the bereaved family.

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PROFESSOR KHAGENDRANATH MITRA

Professor Khagendranath Mitra, Emeritus Professor of Indian Languages of this University, has been appointed Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer on Comparative Religion for 1948. We offer him our congratulations.

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Special Convocation

A Special Convocation was held on the 27th of August last at which the degree of Doctor of Literature Honoris Causa was conferred upon the Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee. A distinguished alumnus of the University, he has served it for three decades and a half with devotion and energy which are as rare as they are praiseworthy. As a Professor in the Post-Graduate Department, as Principal and Professor of the Law College, as a Fellow and Syndic, and as Vice-Chancellor and President of the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching he has filled almost a unique academic role. It was only in the fitness of things that the University which he has served so well should confer upon him the highest honour at its disposal. Our only regret is that a distant McGill stole a march upon us. His Excellency the Chancellor presided over the function. His speech will be published in the next issue.

MENDED
2009